DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 248 188 SO 015 902

AUTHOR	McKernan, Jim, Ed.
TITLE	Irish Educational Studies, Vol. 3 No. 2.
INSTITUTION	Educational Studies Association of Ireland, Dublin.
PUB DATE	83
NOTE	353p.; Financial assistance provided by Industrial Credit Corporation (Ireland), Allied Irish Banks, Bank of Ireland, and "Education Ireland." For Volume 2, see ED 235 105. For Volume 3 no. 1, see SO 015 901.
PUB TYPE	Collected Works - General (020) -- Viewpoints (120)
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC15 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	Business Education; Case Studies; Comparative Education; Computer Assisted Instruction; Educational Finance; *Educational History; *Educational Practices; Educational Theories; Elementary Secondary Education; Foreign Countries; High School Graduates; National Programs; Open Education; Parochial Schools; Peace; Private Schools; Reading Instruction; Science Education
IDENTIFIERS	*Ireland; *Northern Ireland

ABSTRACT

Research problems and issues of concern to educators in the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland are discussed in 21 papers. Papers fall into the general categories of educational history and current practices. Papers in the first category cover the following topics: a history of the Education Inquiry of 1824-1826, the "hedge" or private primary schools which existed in Ireland prior to institution of the national school system in 1831, the relationship between the Christian Brothers schools and the national school system, the relationship between the Irish treasury and the national school system, a history of the Royal Commission on Technical Instruction (1881-1884), the Educational Endowments Act of 1885, and Henry Edward Armstrong and experimental science in the schools. Papers dealing with current practices examine the views of Northern Ireland teachers, cognitive consciousness and the teaching of reading, peace education, Northern Ireland's management education program, problems and trends in computer-based education, business studies in Irish schools, the effect of the economic recession on business studies, ritual and symbol in the culture of Northern Ireland's primary schools, attitudes of "Leaving Certificate" students, the overhead projector as a teaching instrument, open curricula, residential schooling for the hearing impaired, an analysis of the post-primary curriculum, and the relation between theory and practice. (LP)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED248188

SO 015 902

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION
CENTER (ERIC)

☐ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.

☒ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

- Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official NIE position or policy.

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

James McKernan

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

Edited by Dr.Jim McKernan
University College Dublin

Editorial Board

Dr.Jim McKernan, U.C.D. (General Editor)
Fr.Frank Douglas, U.C.C. (Business Editor)
Dr. John Coolahan, U.C.D.
Professor Donal Mulcahy, U.C.C.
Dr.Denis O'Sullivan, U.C.C.
Mr.John Marshall, U.C.G.
Professor V.A.McClelland, Hull University.
Professor Hugh Sockett, University of East Anglia.

Published by the Educational Studies Association
of Ireland, (Cumann Leann Oideachais na h-Eireann),
Dublin, 1983.

Copyright of each contribution is vested in the contributor.

The Educational Studies Association is grateful for financial assistance towards the publication of Irish Educational Studies, Vol.3, to the following agencies: Industrial Credit Corporation, Allied Irish Banks, Bank of Ireland and Education Ireland.

Contents

Page

Notes on Contributors iii

General Editor's Comment v

Seamus O Canainn, The Education Inquiry 1824-1826 in its social and political context. 1

James Hoban, The survival of the hedge schools - a local study. 21

Donald Herron, The Christian Brothers' disconnection from the National Board, 1936. 37

Aine Hyland, The Treasury and Irish Education: 1850-1922: The myth and the reality. 57

Kieran R. Byrne, The Royal Commission on Technical Instruction 1881-1884: the Irish dimension. 83

Raymond Wilkinson, The Educational Endowments (Ireland) Act, 1885, as part of nineteenth century educational reform. 98

Gerry Beggan, Henry Edward Armstrong, (1848-1937), the experimental science in schools. 120

A. McEwen and J.F.Fulton, Theory and practice - a discussion of the views of Northern Ireland teachers 139

W.G.O'Neill, Cognitive consciousness and the initial teaching of reading. 159

Daniel McQuade, Peace education: a values dimension 171

Anne T. O'Shea, Evaluation of Northern Ireland management education programme 187

John A. O'Connell, Problems and trends in computer based education 201

Anthony White, The development and validation of courses in business studies to NCEA awards: 1972-1982. 214

Daniel O'Hare, Economic recession: restraint or opportunity for higher education? 228

Dominic Murray, Rituals and symbols as contributors to the culture of Northern Ireland primary schools. 238

Contents

		Page
Madeleine O'Shea,	A study of Leaving Certificate students' perceptions of teachers' attitudes to Leaving Certificate.	256
Francis Douglas,	Some aspects of the psychology of memory applied to the use of the overhead projector in the classroom.	273
Patrick McDonnell	Residential schooling and the education of children with impaired hearing.	288
Jim Callan	'Open curricula' for an 'open society'.	307
John Harris	A Principal's perspective on the post-primary curriculum.	325
Hugh Gash	Reflections on the relation between theory and practice.	336

Notes on contributors

Seamus Cannon is Director of the Teachers' Centre, Blackrock, County Dublin.

James Hoban is a secondary teacher in Roscommon.

Don Herron is a teacher in St.Cronan's Senior National School, Brackenstown, Swords, County Dublin.

Aine Hyland is Admissions Officer and a lecturer at Our Lady of Mercy College of Education, Carysfort, Co. Dublin.

Kieran Byrne is a lecturer in Mary Immaculate College of Education, Limerick.

Raymond Wilkinson teachers at Royal and Prior Comprehensive School, Paphoe, County Donegal.

Gerry Beggan is a lecturer in the Education Department, University College, Dublin.

Alex McEwan is a lecturer in the Education Department, Queen's University of Belfast.

John F. Fulton is Professor of Education at Queen's University of Belfast.

William G. O'Neill is at the Education Centre, New University of Ulster, Coleraine, Northern Ireland.

Dan McQuade is a lecturer in St. Patrick's College of Education, Belfast.

Anne O'Shea is a Research Fellow with the Northern Ireland Council for Educational Research, Pscyhology Department, Queen's University of Belfast.

John O'Connell is Director, Computer Centre, St.Patrick's College, Maynooth.

Anthony White is a Registrar at the National Council for Educational Awards, Mountjoy Square, Dublin.

Daniel O'Hare is Director of the National Institute for Higher Education, Glasnevin, Dublin.

Dominic Murray is a lecturer in the Education Department, Univeristy College, Cork.

Madeline O'Shea is a secondary teacher in Dun Laoghaire, County Dublin.

Frank Douglas is a lecturer in Education at University College, Cork.

Pat McDonnell is a specialist teacher of the hearing impaired.

Jim Callan is a lecturer in the Education Department, St. Patrick's College, Maynooth.

John Harris is principal of Newpark Comprehensive School and is seconded as special advisor to the Minister for Education.

Hugh Gash is a lecturer in St. Patrick's College of Education, Drumcondra, Dublin.

General Editor's Comment

The history of educational research and of scholarly studies in education suggests that the field has been almost the exclusive preserve of third level academics and of those engaged in research agencies in a professional capacity. Rarely did schoolmen venture into such choppy waters. It is very encouraging to note that in this number of the journal, one-third of the papers have been contributed by either practising teachers or principals in primary or post-primary education. This, I believe, is a very healthy development in Irish education and testifies to the 'extended professionalism' of our school teachers.

I believe that educational research can serve to inform educational policy as well as improve the quality of life in schools and the effectiveness of the curriculum. If educational research is to be effective then there must be a greater cross-fertilisation of enquiry, supplemented by increased modes of cooperation and openness across our three tiered system. We need 'mesh', particularly in terms of curriculum research where curriculum development is the goal. The recent establishment of the Curriculum and Examinations Board presents us with a golden opportunity to achieve this 'mesh', allowing as it can, for primary, post-primary, third-level and other agencies to come together in a dynamic enterprise which none could achieve by working alone. For far too long we have been working alone and without liaison.

The first point that I wish to make concerns the character and choice of research problems and topics. Ireland is a small country with rather limited educational resources for research work. It seems to me that if several researchers were to pool their resources, both intellectual and capital, and attacked a common theme, or problem, then solutions will be found all the sooner. There seems to be a research tradition of private, once-off type studies, whereby researchers follow their own whims or ideas in isolation from the research community. Would it not be eminently more sensible to establish inter-disciplinary teams of researchers who might attack serious curriculum problems from a variety of perspectives? Take for example the introduction of integrated science or social studies at junior cycle - philosophers could discuss the epistemological problems thrown up by the nature of integration; psychologists could seek to establish the effects of integrated studies on pupils in terms of learning and achievement while practitioners might discuss methods and strategies for implementing integrated studies in the curriculum.

The Curriculum and Examinations Board might draw up broad aims and guidelines for curriculum change. The responsibility for curriculum development must then rest with the 'school community' of administrators, teachers, parents, researchers, design experts etc. It is not a task for teachers acting alone. When projects have been completed, then it would be the responsibility of schools to interpret and implement these plans and to carefully monitor and reconstruct these curricula in terms of the school's needs, resources and priorities. I suggest that educational research has a priority role to play in this scenario. Sound research data will form the basis for rational decision-making about curriculum - aims, content, methods and modes of evaluation.

Given the limited nature of our resources should there not then be a greater concentration of research on problems thrown up by the brief of the Curriculum and Examinations Board? Research into modes of pupil assessment and programmes of social and political education?

Finally, it seems to me that in recent years responsibility for many curriculum decisions previously made by central authorities is passing to schools and teachers. I believe that this is essentially right. School-based curriculum development is a new name for an old idea. The philosopher of education, Alfred North Whitehead wrote more than fifty years ago:

> each school should grant its own leaving certificates, based on its own curriculum. The standards of these schools should be sampled and corrected. But the first requisite for educational reform is the school as a unit with its approved curriculum based on its own needs, and evolved by its own staff. [1]

It seems to me that the establishment of the Curriculum Board is a step in the direction of Whitehead's idea. The research community can help to achieve his dream.

Jim McKernan
Editor
Education Department
University College Dublin.

---

[1] Alfred N.Whitehead. The Aims of Education. (London: Ernest Benn, 1932).

Irish Educational Studies, Vol.3, No 2, 1983.

THE EDUCATION INQUIRY 1824 - 1826 IN ITS SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CONTEXT

Seamus O Canainn

The Education Inquiry of 1824-26 was one of three major government inquiries into Irish affairs in the 1820s. A select committee of the House of Commons produced four reports on the state of Ireland between 1824-29, and a select committee of the House of Lords produced a further report in 1826. Taken together, these reports are a study of the complete 'Catholic question' as it was called, and laid the ground for the Catholic Relief Act of 1829. These inquiries in the couse of their investigations examined the constitution under which Ireland had been governed since the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, and the principles and perceptions of Catholic teaching which underlay it.

It is within this context that the Education Inquiry should be viewed. The government's interest was in "tranquillising" the country and the role of education within this process was well established. Education had long been viewed as a device for social control. It was the instrument through which respect for law and authority was inculcated and through which 'morality' was taught. It would encourage restraint and order. However, at a time of widespread disorder in the early 1820s, the state-aided system of education was of no assistance because Catholic children did not attend its schools.

The task of the Education Inquiry was to bring these children into the education system. There was general agreement on how such a system should be organised as had been demonstrated by the success of the Kildare Place

Society in its early years. What was at issue was control. The Catholic Bishops had made it clear that they must have sufficient control over the education of Catholics to avoid interference with their religious beliefs.[1]

This was not an educational problem. This was a profound constitutional issue. Ireland was a Protestant state with a Protestant constitution. The Penal Laws had not been repealed. To grant senior positions of control to Catholic Bishops in education, on a par with representatives of the Established Church would be unconstitutional. It is this constitutional issue which is at the heart of this broadly based investigation into Irish affairs, and this is particularly evident in the Education Inquiry.

The starting point for these investigations was with two issues, widespread rural unrest and the activities of the Catholic Association.

Rural disturbance.

Rural disturbances in Ireland in the early 1820s derived from the crisis in agriculture which followed the Napoleonic war.[2] During the war prices and the value of land had risen. Population increase added to the demand for land and widespread subletting was encouraged by landlords. Units of one acre per family were not uncommon. Standards of housing and cultivation declined as a pattern of subsistence farming began to predominate.

With the fall in grain and cattle prices after the war the fragmentation of farms was reversed in favour of consolidation. Landlords reduced the numbers of holdings through evictions, and the consequent hardship affected not only those who had been evicted, but the inhabitants of towns where they settled. High unemployment, low wages, a poor and precarious food supply, combined with a rapid increase in population made the plight of the peasantry very serious. Resistence to the payment of tithes spread particularly in Munster and parts of Leinster. Secret Societies, dormant since the 1798 rebellion re-emerged and attacked landlords, tithe proctors and their property.

Catholic Association

Irish society was also agitated at another level, that of the Catholic middle class. This class had been formed since the relief legislation of 1778 had afforded Catholics a greater opportunity to invest in land. These opportunities increased in the aftermath of the Union when many Protestants left the country, selling their estates to Catholics. The fall in land prices after the war had also contributed to the development of a class which, while Catholic, possessed considerable wealth and was imbued with the Radical democratic princples of the French Revolution. This class had begun to move into the professions and found that the possibilities of advancement open to Catholics were very limited, both by law and by anti-Catholic bigotry. Mr. A.R. Blake a Catholic and a commissioner of education, interviewed by the Commons Committee on the State of Ireland observed that Catholics were placed below Protestants in Law.[3] Catholics could not become MP's or Judges. On top of that Catholics and Protestants were both obliged to take oaths which he found offensive. These measures were seen to be essential to the security of Protestants but no similar solicitude was shown towards Catholics. As a commissioner of education he had been required to take the usual oath. Then his appointees, all Protestants had to take an oath which declared that he, Blake was an idolator and that his religion was superstitious and idolatrous.

In the course of his interview with the same Committee,[4] Daniel O'Connell enumerated several other avenues of advancement denied to Catholics. In some cases, the obstacles were enshrined in law, in other cases in prejudice.

Directorship of the Bank of Ireland, for example, was open to Catholics since 1793 yet not one Catholic had been appointed even though, in O'Connell's opinion, by far the greater part of commercial wealth in Dublin was in the hands of Catholic merchants. Of the clerks in the bank, only six to ten were Catholics. Another such instance of prejudice was the refusal to accept Catholics as freemen of the Corporation. Catholics were not favoured for membership of Grand Juries even though they had equal rights with Protestants in this area since 1793. He was of the opinion that bigotry was rife and that the law was not enforced impartially. Most importantly perhaps, he emphasised that the Penal Laws had not been repealed. As the law stood, Catholics who failed or refused to take the oaths required of them in certain circumstances placed themselves at the mercy of the full force of the Penal Laws, since relief was conditional on taking the oaths.[5]

While the agitation of the Catholic Association could only benefit a relatively small number of Catholics, its activities had succeeded in raising the expectations of all Catholics. Dr. Doyle, Catholic Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin when interviewed by the same committee made this clear, when asked whether the lower classes in Ireland took any interest in the Penal Laws. He replied:

> I know of no class or description of people in Ireland who do not feel a very strong interest in the repeal of the Penal Laws; those perhaps who understand the nature of them least are the most anxious for their repeal. 6

Education

The Education Inquiry has its place within the general investigation of these problems the wider 'Catholic

Question'. The experience of Catholics dealing with educational matters had not been dissimilar to the picture of prejudice and legal obstruction painted by O'Connell of the professions generally. Dr. Magee, Church of Ireland Archbishop of Dublin, when interviewed by the Education Inquiry stated that he would not of choice admit a Roman Catholic to a school, not even to engage in the literary instruction of Roman Catholic children. And the more sincere and honest a Catholic was, the more dangerous he would be.[7] The views of the other Church of Ireland Bishops were in substantial agreement. The only circumstances in which the presence of a Catholic teacher in a school might be considered would be in a mixed school where he was licensed by a Protestant authority and superintended by the local minister.[8] In contrast, the Catholic Bishops were prepared to accept a system of mixed literary and separate religious education.

What emerges from the preliminary investigation of the disturbances is that the grievances felt by Catholics were a major contributory factor. The disabilities, whether legal or prejudicial provoked discontent and tithes provoked violence. Having detailed the grievances, attention now turned to an investigation of the assumptions which underlay the exclusion of Catholics from the constitution, the Protestant constitution of the late seventeenth century.

This required an examination of Protestant perceptions of Catholic teaching and an elucidation of that teaching by the Catholic Bishops. Specifically dealt with were the nature of Catholic allegiance to the Pope, the extent of Papal power in temporal affairs and the obligations Catholics had to keep faith with heretics or non Catholics.

It was the Protestant perception of Catholic beliefs in these areas that underlay the position assigned to

Catholics within the constitution and which had given rise to the Penal Laws.

Protestant Fears.

It was widely believed among Protestants that the power of the Pope superseded that of the civil authority in temporal affairs and that Catholics were not at liberty to disobey the Pope when a command was enforced by threat of excommunication.[9]

If universal Papal supremacy were conceded the power vested in the office became of great importance. It was believed that the deposing power of the Pope had not become obsolete and could be exercised at will against a Protestant monarch. It had been invoked as recently as the reign of James I in the opinion of one witness.[10]

The third area of major fear was the nature of certain Catholic beliefs, particularly in relation to keeping faith with heretics. Catholics it was believed were not obliged to keep faith with those their Church regarded as heretics. The example of John Huss was given. Huss had been summoned to appear before the Council of Constance (1414-18) under the guarantee of the emperor Sigismund. When he appeared he was arrested and subsequently executed.[11] If these perceptions of Catholic beliefs were true then the practical implications of admitting Catholics to equality in the constitution were very serious.

There was the question of land which had been confiscated at various times during the course of Irish history. It was believed that parish priests had records of original owners whose descendants were awaiting an opportunity to repossess them.[12]

There was also the fear that the Catholic church would seek to repossess herself of the property previously confiscated on behalf of the Established Church.

A third source of concern, particularly for the Church of Ireland was the fear of loss of status and the threat of the constitution if Catholics were to attain positions of influence and power.

In reply to these claims, Daniel O'Connell referred to the very sizeable investment of Catholics in forfeited land since the Relief Act of 1778 and particularly since the Union. As an attorney he had advised many to do so given the ease with which title could be traced. These Catholics could not wish to have forfeited lands repossessed by the descendants of the original owners. The wealthy Catholics would he believed be ruined by it.[13]

On the fear of Catholic occupation of Church of Ireland property, assurances were given by Messrs. Blake and O'Connell and the Catholic bishops that the Catholic bishops entertained no such ambition.[14]

These replies and particularly those of O'Connell on repossession of forfeited estates are of great importance. Ireland was ruled by laws and conventions which had been devised for a semi autonomous colony with its own parliament in the eighteenth century. The constitution had been supported by a resident aristocracy and the Established Church was its spiritual aspect.

All the principal Catholic dignitaries interviewed affirmed that the propensity of the Catholic Clergy was towards an unqualified submission to the law and to the government.[15] Dr. Doyle also assured the committee that a settlement of the Catholic question would bind the interests of Catholics to the Crown.[16] Considerable emphasis is placed on these points by the Catholic representatives to counter the previous claims of disloyalty.

These were the Catholic responses to Protestant fears for their property in the event of the political emancipation of Catholics. The more profound questions remained to be answered, the nature of the Catholics upon which the Protestant fears were based: allegiance, papal authority and keeping faith with heretics. These required further examination not least because some of the Church of Ireland dignitaries interviewed had emphasised that the opinion of enlightened Catholic thinkers could not be relied upon in view of the absolute power of the Pope over them.[17] This was at the same time the heart of the Inquiry seen as a whole.

Catholic Teaching Examined.

The Reverend William Phelan, friend and confidant of Archbishop Stuart of Armagh sought to demonstrate that objectively, regardless of the personal opinions of individual Catholics, all Catholics were obliged to do what they could to bring down the Protestant Church. He quoted a number of examples of what he had in mind from a directory published by order of Dr. Murray, Archbishop of Dublin, for the use of Irish Ecclesiastics. On the feast of St. Mark,for instance the liturgy of the Catholic Church was clearly offensive to the Established Church. The Litany on that day included the prayer: ". . . and thou wilt be graciously pleased to bring the efforts of heretics to nothing". What would happen in the event of a war with France? The Roman Catholic clergy would be obliged to pray, not for the success of British arms, but for the success of France, regardless of personal feelings.[18]

This attitude was not the simple prejudice of an individual, it was a fear that was rooted in the constitution, the same fear as had been expressed by the Reverend

William E. King, Archbishop of Dublin writing in 1691. He had then claimed that a Catholic monarch was always obliged by his religion to destroy his Protestant subjects even though his personal feelings might not coincide.[19]

> It is easier to demonstrate that every Roman Catholic king, if he thoroughly understand his religion, and do in earnest believe the principles of it, is obliged, if he be able to destroy his Protestant subjects and that nothing can excuse him from doing it but want of power.

Neither could Catholics in his opinion submit themselves to a monarch of a different religion.

A further point of interest is that both Dr. King in 1691 and Dr. Phelan in 1824 quoted the same evidence in support of these views, drawn from the fourth Lateran Council of 1215 and from the Council of Constance. These attitudes clearly underlay the Protestant constitution and had been current at the end of the seventeenth century. In building a constitution on them they had come to underpin a social order, whose existence would be under threat if they were discarded. Interestingly, a great deal of time was devoted to an examination of them in the course of these Inquiries.

In the Education Inquiry, the questioning of Irish Bishops dwelt little on strictly educational matters. Most of the investigation had to do with these central political/religious questions. The Bishops were represented by Dr. Curtis of Armagh, Dr. Murray of Dublin, Dr. Oliver Kelly of Tuam, and Dr. Doyle of Kildare and Leighlin.

They were repeatedly questioned on articles from the third and fourth Lateran Councils on Catholic allegiance and obligations to heretics.[21] One article quoted from the third Lateran Council went as follows:

> That all those who are in any way bound to heretics should consider themselves absolved from all fidelity and obedience due to them so long as they persist in their iniquity.

They were asked whether this could mean that Catholics were not obliged to observe allegiance to the crown. Dr. Doyle, who did most of the speaking emphasised that what was referred to was a local problem which threatened both lay and ecclesiastical powers and the measures adopted to counteract it had had the agreement of both. Further questions on the measures adopted against the Albigenses followed and an effort to establish whether decrees then promulgated in particular circumstances still had general application.

Analysing the teachings of the twelfth and thirteenth century Catholic Church in an Education Inquiry in 1824 seems at first sight to be incongruous. But the questions put to the Catholic Bishops represented the perceptions held by Irish Protestants of Catholic teaching. It was these perceptions which underlay the Protestant Constitution and the Penal Laws.

Additional topics dealt with included the freedom of Irish Bishops to accept or reject Paper Bulls. The Pope's power was in Dr. Doyle's view limited to the spiritual domain and he could not for instance absolve Catholics from oaths of allegiance.[22]

These exchanges played an important part in preparing the way for what Gladstone, writing in 1874 was to call ". . . the great and just concession of 1829". That concession without such declarations would he believed have been far more difficult to entertain.[23]

The government was concerned with a much larger question than education simply. A settlement of the education question would not pacify the country, rather would it feed the agitation for the resolution of other grievances. In any case it could not be resolved under the existing constitutional arrangement. Insofar as education had a role it was essential that Catholics be involved in it. The body which had hitherto been charged with the education of Catholics had failed to secure this involvement.

The Church of Ireland

The Church of Ireland was a Church under siege. Serving a minority, composed largely of the governing class and supported by revenues paid mainly by the great majority of the population which it did not serve, it was an object of great hostility. During the existence of a domestic parliament, it had been secure in its role as the spiritual aspect of the constitution. It provided the ideology of the society and its clergy formed a distinct class within it with specific civil functions. The Church of Ireland parish was both a civil and religious unit. Most importantly, however, the clergy had the task of providing moral instruction for the people, both formally through control of education and by example in the community. This role was one of great importance and the stability and peace of the community was seen to depend on their ability to inculcate respect for the law and the institutions of the state. In the aftermath of the union the influence of the Church of Ireland began to decline. In the absence of a domestic parliament, the role played by the Church diminished. This was reflected in the reduction to four of the seats held by bishops in the House of Lords. The dependance of the government on the ecclesiastical vote diminished accordingly. The union of the Churches of Ireland and England was to prove of little help where disagreements existed on matters which affected the Church of Ireland.[24]

The Union itself was associated with a rash of political appointments to the episcopacy in repayment of debts incurred in passing the act of Union, Irish bishoprics being within the government's patronage. As one author has put it in the early nineteenth century, the Irish Bishops "... were not an admirable body of ecclesiastics."[25] Another author put it as follows:

> Indeed given the method of choosing the Church's Leaders, it can only have seemed to many that the survival of the Church of Ireland was in itself an evidence of the continuing power of the almighty to work miracles. 26

Discipline among parochial clergy was also poor and absenteeism and plurality of benefices common. Sporadic attempts to improve discipline were made from time to time most notably during the tenure of Archbishop Stuart appointed to Armagh in 1820. The method used to improve residency underlined the weakness of the Church, since the civil authority, the government, was required, first in 1808, and again in 1824 to introduce legislation with, in the former case, canonical sanctions and in the latter, civil sanctions, fines, to enforce the Church's standards of discipline. Even with these measures there was little improvement. Between 1807 and 1832 non-residents were persuaded to return at a rate of one per annum and the pluralists were reduced at the rate of two per annum.[27] Inevitably under the circumstances the Church's ability to discharge the functions vested in it diminished. In the area of teaching morality it had clearly failed to attract Catholic children to its schools, and with the outbreak of tithe resistance in the early 1820s it seemed to provoke trouble rather than contribute to peace, requiring the enaction of Tithe Acts in 1823 and 24.

The Church was not in a strong position to repulse an attack when a heated public debate began on its role in 1822. The debate began with a scathing attack by

Dr. William Magee, the Church of Ireland Archbishop of Dublin on the "increasing hostility" and "open violence" which assailed the Church of Ireland on all sides.[28] This was greeted as almost a declaration of religious war by Catholic Bishops. In the ensuing debate the principal protagonists to emerge were Dr. Phelan of the Church of Ireland, and Dr. Doyle of Kildare and Leighlin. Some of the areas of the debate were of a theological nature and do not concern the subject matter of this paper. The heart of the debate had to do with the respective roles the two churches should play under the constitution.

Dr. Doyle directed his attack at what he termed The Church of Ireland's 'present establishment' a privileged position requiring that Roman Catholics pay a clergy which did not minister to them. The privileged position held by the Church of Ireland entirely unfitted its clergy to act as a restraining and positive influence on their communities. He instanced the current agitation over tithes, agitation provoked by the existence of that very privilege. It was the Roman Catholic clergy, not the clergy of the Church of Ireland who had restrained the population during this period. The sacrifices that people had been asked to suffer, perishing with hunger in the midst of plenty should not, he claimed be attributed to the natural character and disposition of the Irish people.

> No! Such sacrifices could only be the fruit of religion pushed to an extreme extension by the influence and exhortation of a pious priesthood. 29

He argued that tithes, an "odious privilege" would continue to promote disharmony and division in place of tranquillity. To govern the Irish by means of such a gentry was an impossible task.

He asked bluntly what need the state had of the Church of Ireland and concluded that it had no need except to teach morality to the people, a task it could not discharge:

> The state has all the communications easy, direct, open, her roads, her posts, her army, her magistrates, her police. She is everywhere felt. She does not need the aid of a Church unless to teach morality to the people; and your excellency feels, most sensibly, that in place of aid, you receive from the Church immense trouble; here she produces nought to the government but thorns and brambles. [30]

Dr. Doyle saw a legitimate function for a Church in helping to civilize a society but he disputed most forcibly the suitability of the Church of Ireland to discharge such a function. Rather did he see the Roman Catholic priesthood filling this role of a "middling gentry", and contributing to peace and stability as they had done during the recent period of agitation when bishops and priests, Doyle himself included, had condemned the activities of secret societies and had restrained their members from violent activitiies.[31]

Dr. Phelan responded in like terms. He described the attitude of the Catholic Bishops as "an insatiable thirst for revenge". Dr. Doyle was "a member of an artful and domineering hierarchy, and the cheap, perhaps unconscious instrument of a political faction".[32]

The role of the Church of Ireland was to wed its aristocracy of spirit, industry and intelligence as well as the aristocracy of power and wealth to England and things English. Since the Union he believed, Ireland had ceased being a colony:

> It is legally a member of the great British family, but it is not so morally. What class of person is the executive to have recourse to as a means of effecting a change so desirable? [33]

He discussed the options open to the State. Ruling through a hereditary aristocracy was out of the question on account of the high degree of absenteeism. Resident gentry of a secondary class, agents, middle men and so forth were also unsuitable. A third possible group was the Roman Catholic priesthood: ". . . J.K.L. hints as much". In Dr. Phelan's opinion however;

> Their power of evil is greater than their power of good. The latter particularly in a Protestant state extends only to acts, not principles; the former is almost interminable.

The sectarian missionaries, "whom an unreflecting philantrophy has of late years poured in on us" were also dismissed.

The only other possible group which could meet the requirements of the situation was the clergy of the Church of Ireland. It was the only group which could be relied upon to establish "a system of good principles and good will". The twofold nature of their calling suited them ideally to the role. In the first place they had the spiritual duty to minister to their flock. In the second place they had a duty to all people in their benefices arising out of their covenant with State.

He proposed that by eliminating administrative abuses and by maintaining existing incumbents "as respectfully as they now are" the country would gain ". . . a class of men interested above all others in the maintenance of universal tranquility and good order".[34]

Both churches and the government regarded the civilizing of the country and the teaching of morality as legitimate functions of Churchmen. They disagreed however, on the extent to which the Church of Ireland had been successful in doing so and on the desirability of having the Roman Catholic clergy doing so. The obstacle to have the Roman Catholic clergy engage in the activity was constitutional, particularly so in the area of education which was the principal means of effecting the policy. The consideration of rural unrest did require however an examination of the effectiveness of existing agencies of prevention, and led inevitably to the constitutional issue, in the interests of securing the elusive goal of tranquillity.

This debate had brought sharply into focus the anomolous position the Church of Ireland, as an Established Church but representing a minority. The anomaly arose from the extension of the principles of the British revolution to a completely different culture and yielding different results. Edmund Burke had described it as follows:

> In England it (i.e. Revolution) was the struggle of the great body of the people for the establishment of their liberties against the efforts of a small faction who would have oppresssed them. In Ireland it was the establishment of the power of the smaller number at the expense of the civil liberties and properties of the far greater part; and at the expense of the political liberties of the whole. It was, to say the truth, not a revolution but a conquest, which is not to say a great deal in its favour. 35

This position had been tenable under the domestic parliament but was now increasingly vulnerable under a pragmatic government, which might well address itself to Dr. Doyle's query on what purpose it served.

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the struggle against the fear of domination by Catholics had not been incompatible with maintaining a constitutional independence from Britain. In the nineteenth century however this struggle could be maintained only by standing openly as an "English garrison." In doing so, and in its explicit dependence on the government the Church of Ireland was entrusting its destiny to the pragmatism of

British politics, which was not beyond going over the head of the Church of Ireland to treat with Catholic Bishops. The strain of meeting the demands placed on it by its constitutional position had also taken its toll:

> The gulf between what the Church of Ireland professed to be and what it was, was so great that the whole communion existed in a state of institutional anxiety. 43

In contrast to this was the growth in strength of the Catholic Church from its position of great weakness in the nineteenth century. It now held a position of considerable strength and influence over its members and had acted as a restraining influence in the recent troubles.

In vying for the role of a "middling gentry" the goal of the two churches was control of Catholic education. It was this which would secure for them the position of teaching morality to the people, which was the government's interest in the matter. It was clear however, that enabling Catholics to have control of their own education was not a simple legal question but a profound constitutional issue. To place Catholics and by implication their Bishops in positions of such authority would elevate the Catholic Church to a position of equality in a constitution which was specifically Protestant. The ground was prepared for this change in the course of the several Inquiries of 1824-26.

Education policy in Ireland in the nineteenth century has been described as a device for social engineering. In examining the 1824-26 Education Inquiry it can be argued that the ground was laid there for the largest single such enterprise, the demotion of a social class that had failed and the creation of a new social class, the Roman Catholic priesthood, whose task was to be the inculcation of respect for the institutions of state and the Rule of Law.

The Education Inquiry of 1824-26 contains the seeds of a radical transformation of Irish society which was to lead on the one hand towards disestablishment and on the other towards a position of considerable political power for the Catholic clergy.

REFERENCES

1. First Report of the Commissioners of Irish Education Inquiry Sess. 1825, (400), Vol.12, p.5.
2. Select Committee on the State of the Poor in Ireland, Sess, 1830, three Reports (667, 589, 654, 655). Vol.7, First Report pp.6 ff.
3. Select Committee of the House of Commons on the State of Ireland, sess 1825, first report (129), Vol.8. pp.36 ff.
4. Ibid., pp 62 ff.
5. Ibid., p.109.
6. House of Commons Select Committee, State of Ireland. 2nd Report, Vol.8, p.215.
7. Irish Education Inquiry, first report, Volume 12., p.879.
8. Ibid., app.254, p.883.
9. House of Commons Select Committee, State of Ireland, 4th report, p. 481.
10. Ibid., p. 467.
11. Ibid., p. 474.
12. First report, State of Ireland, House of Commons, p.111.
13. Ibid., pp.53,64.
14. Ibid., p.4 and p.119.
15. Ibid., pp.81 and p.120.
16. Second Report, State of Ireland, House of Commons, p.209.
17. Fourth Report, State of Ireland, House of Commons, p.460.
18. Ibid., p. 481.
19. William E. Kind, The State of Protestants in Ireland under the late King James's Government. (Dublin: Patrick Campbell, 1730), pp.15,16.

20. Ibid., p. 40.

21. First Report Irish Education Inquiry 1825, pp.910 ff.

22. Second Report, State of Ireland, House of Commons, pp.173-175.

23. W.E. Gladstone, The Vatican Decrees, (London: John Murray, 1874), p.30.

24. As was to be the case in 1828 when a substantial number of English Bishops supported Lord John Russell in repealing the Test and Corporation Acts as they applied to Protestant dissenters.

25. Desmond Rowen, The Protestant Crusade in Ireland, 1800-1870. (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1978), p.40.

26. Donald H. Akenson, The Church of Ireland 1800-1885. (Newhaven, London: Yale University Press, 1971), p.40.

27. James A. Godkin, Ireland and her Churches, (London: James Sears, 1867), p. 393.

28. William Magee D.D.. A Charge Delivered at his Primary Visitation in St.Patrick's Cathedral Dublin. (Dublin: Richard Grace, 1822), pp.13, 14.

29. Dr. James Doyle (J.K.L.), A Vindication of the Civil and Religious Principles of Irish Catholics. (Dublin: Richard Coyne, 1823), pp.42,43.

30. Ibid., p.37.

31. William J. Fitzpatrick, The LIfe Times and Correspondence of Dr. Doyle. 2 Volumes., (Dublin: James Duffy & Son, 1880), 1:116.

32. 'Declan' (Rev.William Phelan, D.D.) The Case of the Church of Ireland Stated ... in Reply to the Charges of J.K.L. (Dublin: R. Milliken, 1824), 2nd Edition, p.11.

33. Ibid., 3rd Edition,pp. 27 ff.

34. Ibid., pp.34 - 36.

35. Quoted in Z. Barton, Irish Tracts and Topics, a Soliloquoy. (Dublin: R. Milliken,1823),p.147.

36. J.D. Beckett, The Making of Modern Ireland. (London: Faber and Faber, 1966), p. 287.

37. Bowen, The Protestant Crusade, p.47.

Irish Educational Studies, Vol.3, No.2, 1983.

THE SURVIVAL OF THE HEDGE SCHOOLS - A LOCAL STUDY

James Hoban

Prior to the introduction of the national school system of education in 1831, the vast majority of the Irish children, received their primary education, in what were termed hedge schools or private schools. For many years before the arrival of the state sponsored system, there had been a growing consensus among interested parties, that what Ireland needed was a more highly developed and organised system,to replace the often haphazard and irregular education being pursued in these hedge schools. Historians have tended to concentrate on the development of the national system, to the detriment of research into the whole area of the hedge schools.

The results of my research in County Roscommon raise issues which are at variance with the generally accepted pictures of primary school education at this time. The national schools were introduced very slowly and indeed forty years were to pass before the system had gained the confidence and acceptance of the people. During this period a considerable number of the hedge schools continued to educate, and between the years 1831 and 1851, less than half of the school-going attendance in Roscommon went to a national school. This naturally implies that slightly more than half of the primary school children of the county attended schools run by private individuals. The purpose of this paper is to examine the position of the hedge schools in the County of Roscommon during the period 1831-1871, a period during which the national system made progress, but not without some stiff opposition from the more successful of the hedge schools.

The Second Report of the Commissioners of Irish Education Inquiry for 1824 revealed that there were 308 schools in the county[1] of this number there were 242 pay schools. These schools were described as "unconnected with any society, and held by the individuals for their own profit". This meant that the pay or hedge schools were over 79 per cent of the total number of primary schools in the county. The number of children attending these schools varied in accordance to the Roman Catholic and Protestant returns to the Commission but on the assumption that the Catholic figures were of greater accuracy - due to the greater presence of Roman Catholic clergy in the county - I have accepted their attendance return of 13,269 in these schools.

The national system of education was introduced in 1831, and in 1835 the Commission of Public Instruction presented its report. The total number of primary schools was 325, but of this number only six were national schools. This suggested that national schools represented a mere 2 per cent of the schools in the county, and educated only 4 per cent of the school-going population. However, the number of schools described as hedge schools was 189 with 11,500 pupils.[2] These schools were specifically referred to as such in the report, and were supported by the contributions of the children only. These contributions varied between the different parishes, and the subjects taught by the teacher.

The chief subjects taught were reading, writing and arithmetic. The fee for writing varied from 11p to 16p per quarter with reading and spelling costing less. Isaac Weld noted how in Killukes parish "the sum of 3/6 (17p) was paid for children learning accounts, and 1/6 (7p) for spelling and reading."[3]

The average annual salary from the National Board, for teachers in County Roscommon was £10.00, and in some areas this was aided by local contributions and subscriptions. Richard Wallis taught in Tarmon national school and received "£8.00 per annum from the Board; £4.00 per annum, and half an acre of ground from several respectable inhabitants of Castlerea".[4] However, in many instances the local aid given towards the salaries of teachers in national schools was small and T.J.McElligott has noted that "Poverty of the people made regular payment of salary most uncertain and when the people found that the state provided money for the teachers they relaxed their efforts to do so".[5] In a hedge school in Athleague the teacher Edmund Burke received "the contributions of the children, about £18.00 per annum", while in Fuerty the teacher John Rooney earned £22.00 from the children's contributions.[6] In Baslic school the teacher Thomas Dwyer received "the contributions of some of the children, from 7p to 17p per quarter each, amounting to about £35.00 per annum".[7] While, many hedge school teachers in Roscommon received such less than this, it nevertheless, illustrated the sacrifices made by the people - despite their poverty stricken conditions - to support the hedge school master in their own areas, and was evidence of their great respect for these schools.

It was stipulated by the National Board that one third of the cost of building and fitting a national school would be raised locally. This often proved most difficult because of the extreme poverty of the population. The First Report of the Commissioners for Inquiring into the Conditions of the Poorer Classes in Ireland for 1836 revealed the terrible social conditions within the county. Referring to the living conditions it noted that in areas around Camma and Kiltoom they were "little huts without any furniture except stools and pots; built of stone and mortar very uncomfortable, the straw covering being so seldom removed, the fireside consequently damp and filthy and the inmates squalid. Bedsteads unusual and in all cases most uncomfortable bedding".[8] The result of this poverty was to slow up the progress of the national system of education. In 1835 an application was made to the Board for aid towards the building of a school house in Cornasier. By 1837, however, the commissioners had cancelled all grants to the school because the applicant had not proceeded with the work within a reasonable period of time.[9] This delay had been due to the applicant's difficulty in raising any local aid towards the school.

Conditions within the national schools were often very bad, and in the summer they tended to be overcrowded, as many more children attended them. The strongest complaints at this time concerned the great lack of school furniture and equipment. Very few schools had desks or indeed a blackboard. The inspector's report for Donamon school in 1837 stated that "this school was labouring under disadvantages from want of space and suitable school furniture".[10] Within the hedge schools conditions were generally no better and many such schools were held in "mud cabins" or "wretched hovels". A large number of schools were also conducted in chapels and the home of the teacher with the result that some of these private schools were indeed superior to the overcrowded and badly-equipped national school.

In 1834 a model training school for teachers in national schools was opened in Dublin. This was to provide a three month training course for teachers, but very few attended from County Roscommon in the period up to the Famine. In 1837 it was reported that the teacher Michael Walsh of Carrick "although trained in the model school was ignorant and inattentive,"[11] while in Kiltoevan the inspector noted that the mistress Eliza Moran "writes and reads badly, she will do no good". In Athleague the teacher did not understand English grammar, while in Cornafulla the teacher Francis Durney - who had attended the Model school - "was a confused answerer which arose from his deficiency as a scholar".[12] Reporting on the teacher in Finner, the inspector used a word, which was much beloved of the inspectors at this time, stating that he was "middling in the conduct of the school."[13] A large number of teachers in these national schoools were not properly trained, nor indeed suited to the occupation, which meant that a hedge school with a reputable teacher still attracted many school-going children.

Catholic reaction to the national system, which had been favourable at first, changed during the latter half of the 1830s and many of the clergy urged a great transformation of the system. The most outspoken critic was Archbishop McHale of Tuam who attacked and denounced the system openly. In 1839 the Commissioners of National Education noted that the system "has lately received a check in one district through the efforts of a Roman Catholic prelate,. . . . several schools in these parts of Galway and Mayo in which he exercises spiritual authority, have ceased to be in connection with us".[15] Part of the diocese of Tuam comes within the county boundaries of Roscommon, and it was noticeable that such areas of the county did not have any national schools until many years later. The parish of Moore which lay within the Tuam diocese had no national school until the late 1850s, bearing ample testimony to McHale's influence in these parts of County Roscommon.

By 1841 there were 32 national schools in the county, and the number of children on the rolls of such schools according to the Commissioners was 3,558.[16] Only Longford and Leitrim had less national schools than Roscommon, and the national system had failed to make dramatic inroads into the primary system of education, with the result that hedge schools were still educating the majority of school-children. This fact was demonstrated further by the census report of 1841. In the primary schools there were 6,185 boys and 4,533 girls, which meant a total of 10,718 children attending such schools. Regarding the validity of this number the Commissioners noted "these numbers we asserted from returns filled up by the master or mistress, or other head of school, which gave the name and ages of the children who actually attended during the week preceeding the day of enumeration. We thus endeavoured to avoid the excess which results from giving the number on the roll of the school, while by extending the attendance through a week, we hoped to avoid all absence arising from the particular season to be allowed for".[17] The reports of the Commissioners of National Education always referred to the numbers on the rolls of the schools, thus presenting a rather false picture when we wish to examine the numbers in actual attendance at this time.

The Commissioners of National Education Report for 1841, reported the number of children on the rolls of national schools in the county as 3,558. The census gave the number of children attending primary schools as 10,718.[18] This implies that only one-third of the children attending schools in 1841, actually attended a national school. When one further considers that a large discrepancy always existed between the numbers on the rolls, and attendance, then there is the real possibility of national school attendance representing much less than one-third of the total. The same picture emerges when we examine the number of teachers in the various schools. There were 35 teachers in national schools, but the census report noted a total of 299 schoolteachers in the county. This in fact meant that 264 teachers taught in schools other than those connected with the National Board. Allowing for the schools of Protestant Societies and the Church Education Society, the figures reveal the significant role still played by the hedge schools in education. Since hedge schools generally had one teacher, the number of such schools in the county at that time was between 130 and 140 schools.

The famine of 1846 was no respecter of schools or teachers, and all schools suffered badly. Many reports at the time referred to its effects on education. In Kilmore school the "scholars paid nothing, but expected that once the famine ceased a number would be able to pay 1d weekly".[19] In Crosna the manager "in consequence of fever in the vicinity of the school, has moved the scholars to the chapel", while in Keadue Peyton the "school was closed in consequence of teacher's death".[20] The worst excesses of the famine were experienced during the year 1847 when the Commissioners noted that the number of children on the rolls of national schools fell from 9,634 in 1846 to 6,130 in this year.[21] These figures also revealed the significant progress made by the national system during the first half of the 1840s, when there was a very noticeable increase in the number of children on the rolls of such schools. County Roscommon experienced the greatest decline in attendance at primary schools in Connacht which demonstrated the fact that this area suffered some of the worst effects of the famine. Durcan stated about the national schools that the famine "deprived teachers of their fees, exposed them to disease, placed them in the position of workhouse porters, and when the relief ceased, left them with empty schools, the regular pupils having gone elsewhere".[22]

The distribution of food by the British Relief Association had interfered with the operation of the national schools. In Roscommon this resulted in a massive increase in attendance with the number increasing from 6,130 in 1847 to 12,669 in 1848. Commenting on this Durcan stated: "The inducement to the children to attend under the pretext of education encouraged fraud, and not being able to distinguish between charity and a bribe, the school became associated with the latter, and the usefulness of education itself was overlooked".[23] This overcrowding only led to further disease among the teachers and children, as well as interfering with the discipline and efficiency of the schools.

The hedge schools were also affected by the famine. In 1846, however, these schools were very much in operation as many inspectors noted. Reporting on the application for aid towards the building of a national school in Knockcroghery the inspector noted that there was "A school in the village under the Church Education Society and three hedge schools - the first is not well attended, but the hedges are crowded". Earlier in the year the inspector reporting on the Strokestown district referred to "five or six cabin schools in the neighbourhood attended by about thirty each".[24] Naturally these schools lost considerable numbers during the famine, and many of them closed. The position of the hedge school teacher was more vulnerable than that of the teacher in national school, and whereas a national school would possibly re-open or regain its number after the famine, the hedge school generally closed down with the teacher unemployed. For many such teachers, the only alternative may have been emigration. However, many hedge schools survived the ravages of the famine, as we can see from an examination of the census report of 1851.

The population of the county was returned as 173,436 which was a drop of just under a third on the population figure of 1841. The number of school-going children was 12,131.[25] The Commissioners of National Education Report gave the number of children on the rolls of national schools as 10,519. However, the actual attendance in these schools according to the census report was 4,308, which represents over one third of the school-going children. Private schools of which the majority were hedge schools contained 3,408 children, or 28 per cent of the school children. The national system was now making clear inroads into primary education, and during the decade from 1841 to 1851 had taken over as the main agent of primary education within the county, educating the greater number of school-children. Nevertheless, the census reported 70 national schools in operation and 116 private schools, which meant that there were still more hedge than national schools in the county.

The Commissioners of National Education in their annual Report of 1851 had shown 114 teachers employed in the county,[26] while the census gave the number of teachers here as 293. When allowances are made for teachers in Church Education Society schools, and some other schools in the area, the number of teachers in national and hedge schools were almost equal. Many of the schools in the national system were two-teacher schools, whereas the hedge school continued to be taught by one teacher only. The hedge schools had not totally disappeared with the advent of the national school, but continued side by side with it, until eventually the better financed and organised state system of education took over completely in the late nineteenth century.

Many parents continued to send their children to a hedge school despite the presence of a national school in the area. In 1848 the inspector reporting on a national school in Aughnadery wrote that there was "a hedge school in the area which does no good to the national school." In 1856 at Clegna the inspector reported that "the manager hopes to overcome the ignorant prejudice against national schools among parishioners".[27] He proceeded to criticise the parishioners who sent their children to inferior schools, while noting that these schools without proper furniture or equipment had twice as large an attendance as any national school in the area. In 1859 the inspector's report on Rathmile school stated "I find the people have a remarkable predilection for the ordinary hedge school, and hence there is as yet an unwillingness to send their children to the national school."[28] When examining this "remarkable predilection" there are a few points that require further consideration.

The first are the observations made by the inspector Mr. J. Patten on a visit to a number of national schools in the county in 1850. In general he found the premises good, but instruction varied. In Elphin girls' school he noted that "reading and spelling are not good, writing indifferent, arithmetic merely commenced, progress of the children is poor, and little explanation given". At Mount Allen school there was "little progress made by the children in any of the branches."[29] The standard of teaching and education in some national schools was very low, with the result that a good hedge school still attracted many of the children.

Yet another important consideration was the attitude adopted by some teachers to the new system. At Knockvicar the teacher of the local hedge school was approached by the curate to join the national school system. In reply the teacher re-emphasised his determination to remain outside the system with the observation that "he would teach what he liked, where he liked, and when he liked". Implicit in this statement is the freedom that teachers in hedge schools enjoyed as opposed to the strict and narrow guidelines laid down for national teachers by the Board. These strictures extended from teachers avoiding all fairs, markets, and meetings, to their general appearance and moral values. There were numerous references to the fines levied on teachers for neglect of school, irregularity of attendance, fabrication of accounts, and poor punctuality.

The greatest pressure on the national school teacher concerned the vexed question of religion, and with the Roman Catholic and Anglican clergy so diverse in their attitudes to the system, the teachers were often the mere pawns in the game. As the majority of school managers were Catholic priests they tended to frown on any Protestant intervention in the school. This was revealed in Tarmon in 1850 when the manager had the teacher dismissed for allowing the protestant rector take shelter in the school porch from a shower of rain.[30] In schools where joint-patronage existed, the religious rivalry often left teachers without any income for long periods of time. A religious controversy in Knockcroghery meant that the teachers there were not paid for a year.[31] All this displays the problems faced by teachers in national schools. They were the lowest rung of the educational ladder, and lacked the respect of managers and inspectors alike. Many teachers in hedge schools who retained the esteem and confidence of the people were not prepared to enter such a system, and relinquish their freedom.

By 1861 there were 159 national schools in Roscommon with 14,983 pupils on the rolls. The census report of that year gave the number of children in attendance in primary schools as 10,588[32] which suggested that just over one quarter of the age group from five to fifteen attended a school in the county. The census reported that 6,870 children attended national schools, which was much less than the number on the rolls of such schools. The number of children in private schools was 2,539 which consisted of 2,351 between the ages of five and fifteen. The difficulty when examining private schools, is to discern the number of hedge schools contained in this category, as many of these private schools were assisted in other ways, aside from the contributions of the children. It is very clear from the figures, nevertheless, that the national schools now contained the vast majority of school children. The number of schools according to the census report was 268, and of this the national schools were now in the majority. For the first time the number of national schools outnumbered the hedge schools. The private schools comprised 109 of the total, and although the hedge school formed a significant proportion of these, it was increasingly evident that they were losing to the national system. The census of 1841, 1851 and 1861 had all displayed a trend, which emerged even more forcibly in the latter half of the 1860s. This trend portrayed the national system moving into a position of strength with the hedge schools consequently declining. There was no difficulty in obtaining accurate figures for numbers of national schools and children attending during this period. However, the hedge schools proved more difficult, and whether deliberate or otherwise there was little reference to these schools in reports of the time.

It is very rewarding then to examine the Royal Commission of Inquiry into primary education of 1870, as this report makes specific references to the hedge school. There were 231 primary schools in County Roscommon, of which 167 were national schools.[33] The number of children attending these schools of the National Board was 9,935. Private schools were also referred to and the number of such schools was 35. This consisted of 21 assisted schools and only 14 unassisted. The latter is of chief interest to us, as this is referred to as the hedge schools in the report. Commenting on the latter type of school the Commissioners noted "Notwithstanding the growth of national and other schools in which the school fee is not more than one penny a week, and the payment of even this small fee is not always enforced, the Constabulary have returned under the name of hedge schools, 117 schools in Munster, 43 in Leinster and

44 in Connaught, the teachers of which depend for their livelihood on school fees".[34] The report gives grudging recognition to the fact that some hedge schools continued in existence, 40 years after the introduction of the national schools.

In County Roscommon there were 14 hedge schools referred to in the report, but three of these had been discontinued. The attendance in these 11 schools still in operation was 435 Roman Catholic children, and in Cloonfad, Fairymount, Gortaganny and Drummad the numbers attending had increased. Eight of the hedge schools in the report had been in operation in the county in 1824. The teachers in them had changed during the period 1824 to 1871, but so important had the schools become in the community, they continued to educate the children of their areas into the late 1800s. Furthermore, Roscommon had the highest attendance of pupils in hedge schools in Connacht at this time.

The underlying reason for the continuance of such schools in any area of Ireland, is that they were regarded by the parents as good schools, offering the basis of a sound education in the children, and taught by a teacher who had the respect and esteem of the people. It is this which accounts for the reports final observation which read "there are still some poor people willing to pay for the education of their children even where facilities are offered of obtaining a much superior education gratuitously in national and other schools".[35]

The hedge schools had been an integral part of primary education in Ireland, long before the introduction of any state system of education, and had imparted the basis of a rudimentary education to the Catholics during the worst excesses of the Penal Laws. As such they had gained the loyalty and respect of vast numbers of Irish people, and the teacher was regarded very highly in the community. The introduction of the national system posed a great problem, however, as better financed national schools extended through the countryside. The hedge schools declined considerably as any comparison of the figures will show us. In 1835 there were 189 hedge schools, but this had fallen to a mere 11 schools in 1870. Nevertheless, despite the mushrooming of the state system of education, a number, albeit very small, of hedge schools continued to exist into the latter years of the nineteenth century, a testimony if one is needed of the character of these schools.

REFERENCES

1. *Second Report of the Commissioners of Irish Education Inquiry* H.C. 1826-7 (12), xii, pp.1282-1307.
2. *Second Report of the Commissioners of Public Instruction, (Ireland)*, (45 and 46). H.C. 1835, xxxiii, pp.19d-45d.
3. Isaac Weld, *Statistical Survey of the County of Roscommon*.(Dublin, 1832), p. 293.
4. *Second Report of Public Instruction (Ireland)*, 1835, p.21d.
5. P.J. McElligott, *Education in Ireland*. (Dublin: Institute of Public Administration, 1966), p.9.
6. *Second Report of Public Instruction (Ireland)*, 1835, p.19d.
7. Ibdi., p. 23d.
8. *First Report of the Commissioners for Inquiring into the Conditions of the Poorer Classes in Ireland*, Appendix E. H.X. 1837 (37), xxxii, p. 30.
9. *Fourth Report of the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland for the year 1837*, H.C. 1837-38 (447), xxviii, p.31.
10. National school aided applications, County Roscommon. 1832-57, p. 22.
11. Register of National Schools, County Roscommon, 1835-52, P.R.O.I. Query No. 4.
12. National school aided applications, County Roscommon, 1832-57, p.37, p.43, p.18.
13. Ibid., p.57.
14. R. Barry O'Brien, *Fifty Years of Concessions to Ireland*, 1831-1881, (2 Vols.),(London 1885), I, 186.
15. *Sixth Report of the Commissioners of National Education for the year 1839*, H.C. (1840), xxviii, p.1.
16. *Eight Report of the Commissioners of National Education for the year 1841*, H.C. 1842, (398), xxiii, Appendix I.I.I., p.95.

17. *Report of the Commissioners appointed to take the Census of Ireland for the year 1841 with appendix and index*. H.C. 1843 (504), xxiv, p.xxxviii.

18. Ibid., p. 413.

19. National school aided applications, p.85.

20. *Register of National Schools County Roscommon*. 1835-52. Queries No. 44 and 49.

21. *Fourteenth Report of the Commissioners for the Year 1847*. Appendix II, p.72.

22. Thomas J. Durcan, *History of Irish Education from 1800*. (Wales 1972), pp.39-40.

23. Ibid., pp.39-40.

24. National school aided applications. p.81, p.78.

25. *Census of Ireland for 1851*, pt.iv. Ages and Education. Report and tables on ages and education (Dublin 1855), H.C. 1856 (2053), p.xLix.

26. *Eighteenth Report of the Commissioners of National Education for the year 1851*. Vol.7, p.268.

27. National school aided applications, 1832-57, p.164.

28. National school aided applications, 1858-65, p.22.

29. *Seventeenth Report of the Commissioners of National Education for the year 1850*. H.C. 1851 (1405), xxiv, pp.205-7.

30. Register of national schools, 1835-52, Query No.120.

31. Ibid., Query No. 158.

32. *Census of Ireland for 1861*, pt.ii, reports and tables on ages and education. (3204-I), H.C. 1863, Lvi. p.33.

33. *Royal Commission of Inquiry into Primary Education* (Ireland), Vol.vi, Educational census: returns showing number of children actually present in each primary school, June 25, 1868, with introductory observations and analytical index (C-6V). H.C. 1870, xxviii, pp.135-140.

34. Ibid., pp.xxiv-xxv.

35. Ibid., p. -xvii.

Irish Educational Studies, Vol.3, No.2, 1983.

THE CHRISTIAN BROTHERS' DISCONNECTION FROM THE NATIONAL BOARD, 1936

Donald Herron

The setting up of the National Board, set out in Stanley's letter of 1831, permitted the Government to grant-aid educational provision in Ireland. On acceptance of the Rules of the Commissioners, connected schools could receive grants toward building, furnishing, texts and teacher salaries.

The principle of combined secular and separate religious instruction was a central feature of this system of grant-in-aid. Amongst the groups who had misgivings about this principle, were the Christian Brothers, founded by Edmund Rice, in 1802, for the education of poor boys in Christian piety and in literary instruction. This instruction was gratuitous.

In common with the many parish pay-schools, the schools of the Order were in straitened financial circumstances in the 1830s. Despite the mistrust of the proposals because of the restrictions on religious instruction,[1] Br. Rice, on the advice of Dr.Murray, Archbishop of Dublin and Commissioner of the National Board,[2] decided to apply to the Board, on a trial basis, for the connection of some of the Order's schools.

The Commissioners, at a meeting in February, 1832, regularised the procedures for the connection of Nuns' and Brothers' schools and cleared the way administratively for the connection of such schools.[3]

Connection

Seven of the Christian Brothers' schools were connected to the Board in 1832 and 1833. Six applied as a result of Br. Rice's decision and the seventh, Ennis, independently. Table 1 sets out the details of the connections.

Table 1 Christian Brothers' Schools connected with the National Board

Roll No.	School	Applicants[4]			Pupils on Roll	Teachers	Date
		Lay Cath	Lay Prot	Clergy Cath			
746	Mill St. Dublin	4	14	12	609	2	14.6.32
741	Nth Richmond St	3	10	9	771	6	28.6.32
645	Mt Sion, Waterford	8	15	6	630	3	25.8.32
639 640	St Patrick's(1) St Patrick's(2) Waterford	8	15	6	184	2	25.8.32
623	Dungarvan	3	12	9	519	4	23.9.32
446	Ennistymon	1	18	11	287	4	1.1.33
443	Ennis (Vested)	5	18	13	478	3	1.9.33

Source: *Third Report of the Commissioners of National Education, 1836*, (44), H.C. 1836, xxxvi. Appendix x, pp.34-35, and *Royal Commission into Primary Education (Ireland)*, Vol. VII, *Returns furnished by the National Board*, (C6-VI), H.C. 1870, xxviii. pt.v, section xiv, p.379.

The monies received were not inconsiderable. One school received a building grant, three received fitting-up grants and all seven received grants toward salaries and school requisites.[5] Though the amounts were small, they equalled, in most cases, the total other resources of the houses.[6]

Connection with the Board, with its pecuniary advantages, implied compliance with its Rules. Adherence in three areas was a source of frustration to the Brothers and each of these will be looked at: the rules relating to Religious instruction, the Board's control of texts for use in schools and the public's right to visit schools in connection with the Board.

Religious Instruction: Religious instruction, was by rule separated from secular instruction. It was to take place on one or two days set aside for it, and, if wished, daily, but either before or after 'ordinary school time'. It was not until after a Rule change in 1838[7] that religious instruction was permitted at one intermediate period. Also forbidden, after 1838, was the right of any visitor to question on the area of religion.[8] Devotional practices and religious emblems were forbidden during the period of secular instruction.

Many of these regulations were in opposition to the practices developed by the Brothers in their schools. Religious thought and feeling imbued their schools and lessons. Religious objects, hourly prayer and mid-day religious instruction were features of school. The Brothers' and the Board's perspectives on religious instruction, and its place in the school day, were different. With these differences developed conflict.

It would appear, that though there was some conflict between the Board's inspectors and the Brothers, it was not as great as the conflict within individual Brothers themselves. Blake describes this inner conflict:

> ... a majority of the Brothers felt demoralised by the pretence of obeying the Board's rules exactly and yet surreptitiously teaching religion at the pre-1831 times at regular intervals during the day. 9

This inner conflict was aggravated by the misunderstanding by some of the Brothers about Br. Rice's intentions in connecting the schools to a Board with such constraining rules.[10] This constraint was further reinforced by a vigilant public and the Board's own inspectors.

Visitors: The Board's inspectors were the most regular visitors, and between them and the Brothers, Fitzpatrick says, there were "satisfactory relations, frequently cordial."[11] Occasionally, an inspector had to reprimand for a failure to comply with the Board's Rules[12] but overall the Brothers kept fairly to the Rules of the Board. The Mill Street school, Dublin, devoted one day to religious instruction[13] and all save one, followed the Board's recommendation in regard to the reading of the Scripture Lessons.[14]

However, under this visitation entitlement, the Brothers did suffer some harrassment, as some members of the public, malevolently motivated, wished to find the Brothers compromised in relation to the Board's rules.[15] The rule change of 1838 concerning visitors was too late to rectify this objection[16] as the decision to disconnect had already been taken.

Texts: The Brothers' own Lesson Books, some of which were available from 1826-1828[17] were not used in the schools connected with the Board. The Board at this time reserved to itself this right. An inspector wrote of the Brothers' Lesson Books, when they applied to the Board:

> The Books of the Christian Brothers are not such as they can sanction in a National School for general instruction. 18

The Brothers adopted, when they became available the Board's texts.

The Brothers had two criticisms of the book provided. On the one hand they were aware of a religious bias in the stories and poems contained, and on the other, the lack of an 'Irish' dimension in the content.

Archbishop Whately's Scripture Lessons, printed by the Board, became available to schools from 1832 on. There was no compulsion to use them, but they were used in many schools, including the Brothers. Up to 1838, their use was encouraged by the inspectorate[19] (at times somewhat heavy-handedly). Thereafter, they were confined to tabulating the numbers reading them.[20]

The Lessons were for use in 'ordinary school time' and it may be assumed that informal religious instruction might have accompanied their use. The inspectors were, moreover, ordered in 1838, "to refrain from giving any suggestions ... on their usage."[21] However, this easing of the 'encouragement' was a little too late, for that year, Rice had already written to the Brothers concerning the Lessons:

> It is the introduction of the Bible to National schools which will render it quite impossible for houses now in connection with the Board of Education to continue that connection. 22

The Brothers recommended the publication of their own texts in 1840, when all but one of their schools had withdrawn.[23]

We have in turn, covered three areas of discord in the connection of the Brothers' schools to the National Board. No sharp disagreements developed and this may have happened because, firstly, the Brothers kept fairly within the Rules, though disagreeing with them, and, secondly, the recogntion of the Board's inspectors of the merit of the Brothers' schools.

The existence of the National Board and the availability of its grants had overall effects on the Brothers. Br. Rice, noting the rising number of schools being connected to the Board, wrote, in 1836, "that there can be little future for the Congregration in Ireland".[24] The attraction to Bishops and Parish priests of a fixed yearly grant was very great. The Brothers in contrast, would impose a financial burden on the inviting parish, by the maintenance of a religious community.

There was the additional reluctance of some Bishops "to admit to their dioceses a Congregation of Lay Brothers largely independent of episcopal control".[25]

There was a steady stream of applications for the establishment of schools from England, where the negotiated position for the Brothers was financillay and managerially, more satisfactory. Expansion of the Order and the achievement of its ideal could proceed, but now not necessarily in Ireland.

Disconnection

The process of disconnection may be charted through the decisions and consequences of the Chapters of the Congregation in 1836 and 1838.

The Chapter of 1836: This was a "Chapter of Affairs". Of the nineteen capitulants (Delegates), eight, at least were in, or had been in schools connected to the National Board. Normoyle says of them:

> While all the capitulants were by this time generally well informed on the matter, some had first hand experience of its operation. 26

So, when the matter of the connection came up for discussion, it was the subject of a long debate.[27] J.D. Burke, a historian of the Institute says of this debate:

> The connection of those houses with the National System had been made within the years of two General Chapters of 1831 and 1837 ... and consequently without the sanction of a General Assembly and solely by the Founder and his Assistants, as a tentative thing and mainly to please Archbishop Murray,

> who was one of the Board of Commissioners, as also to satisfy a certain public opinion, which seemed to intimate that the Brothers should make a trial. [28]

Gillespie felt that the Chapter "in effect censured the Superior General (Br.Rice) for connecting with the Board."[29] In the event, the Chapter, at the end of its debate unanimously carried this resolution:

> As it appears to us, after calm and impartial examination of the subject, that a connexion with the Board of National Education, under the conditions and sucrifices by which it is at present maintained, would ultimately prove fatal to the religious as well as to the professed object of the institute, we ordain and strictly enjoin for the remedy of the past, as well as for the prevention of future evils:
>
> Firstly, that no connexion whatsoever shall be formed henceforward with the Board of National Education or with any other Board of Association without the concurrence and approbation of a General Chapter.
>
> Secondly, that a Committee of five be appointed by the Chapter to make strict enquiry into the funds and resources of those houses which are at the present in connexion with the Board, and that in those cases in which it can be satisfactorily proved that adequate means for the subsistance of the community either actually exist, or can be supplied, the connexion shall be dissolved at the termination of the present half year when the outstanding salary of the Board shall be received for that period.
>
> Thirdly, that while we tolerate for the present the maintainence of the connexion on the part of those houses whose funds will not permit an immediate separation, we render it imperative on the Directors and Communities of such houses to use every legitimate means, which zeal and prudence can suggest, to provide from other sources a substitute for the

> salary of the Board, and thereby enable themselves to regain the characteristic discipline of the institute without which its spirit cannot be perpetuated. [30]

Table 2 The dates on which the Christian Brothers' Schools were struck off, with reasons appended.

Roll No.	School	Struck off	Reason
640	St Patrick's(1) Waterford	2.5.1836	Connection withdrawn
746	Mill St Dublin	31.3.1837	Board's Rules interfering with the discipline of the Order.
741	Nth Richmond St Dublin	31.3.1837	Connection withdrawn
639	St Patrick's(2) Waterford	25.7.1837	Connection withdrawn
645	Mount Sion Waterford	8.3.1838	Connection withdrawn
623	Dungarvan	23.5.1839	Connection withdrawn
443	Ennis		Has not been recognised as a Monastic school since 30.9.1840.
446	Ennistymon	31.3.1857	Connection withdrawn ("House being out of repair and without adequate and suitable furniture") *

Source: *Royal Commission of Inquiry into Primary Education (Ireland), Vol.VII, Returns furnished by the National Board*, (C6-VI), H.C. 1870, xxviii, pt.v, p.375.

**Twentyfourth Report of the Commissioners of National Education*, 1857, p.215.

The committee of five was appointed and reported their unanimous conclusion, in early January, 1837, that the houses in Waterford, Mill Street and North Richmond Street, Dublin, could subsist independently.[31] In Table 2 is set out the dates on which these schools were struck off the Board's Register, and the reason stated at the time.

The Royal Commission in 1870 (Powis) printed the letters of the Brothers and Inspectors at this time. There are a number of interesting points arising -- the manner of communicating the withdrawal to the Board and the delay in informing Dr. Murray.

Mr. Thomas Finn, inspector, had visited Mount Sion, Waterford and after the visit wrote to the Board on August 25th, 1837:[32]

> The school has withdrawn its connection with us. The grounds for the withdrawal were not distinctly stated to me. I was told that Mr.Rice would give his reasons to the Board... It has been stated to me that the Rev.Carlile visited the school in May last and that the dissolution of its connection with us was then communicated to him. [33]

Mr. McDermott, inspector in the Dublin area, wrote to the Board on July 11th, 1837 concerning his visit to the Brothers' Mill Street school. He reported that Mr.(Br.) Kelly, when telling him of the disconnection, mentioned that the only change since disconnection was the holding of religious instruction between twelve and one o'clock. He further reported Br.Kelly as saying:

> but if that rule was dispensed with, they would thankfully receive the grant of salary as usual, it not, they must thankfully decline it. [34]

The Rev. George Dwyer, in his evidence to the Select Committee of the House of Lords, in July, 1837, mentioned how he became aware of the disconnection. Br.Thornton, assistant to Br.Rice, whom he met in Carrick-on-Suir, while he (Thornton) was visiting the Brothers' school, told him of the withdrawal and alluded to resolutions passed to the effect that they (the Brothers) did not approve of the National system.[35]

Dr. Kelly's statements were interesting in that they indicate a willingness to remain connected to the Board, save for the Rule on religious instruction. Mill Street school was the only Brothers' school that held religious instruction on the one day set aside for it. This Rule was shortly to change.[36]

Mr. Finn, the inspector who visited and wrote from Waterford gives his interpretations as to why the Brothers withdrew:

> I have reason to think that the inquisitorial power added to the rude demeanour of those sent about as spies upon our schools, practiced in their visits to these schools connected with Mr. Rice's confraternity, contributed largely to dissolve their connection with us. Such has been stated to me. 37

Three schools had disconnected when Br. Rice wrote, in June, 1837, informing Dr. Murray of the decision and the withdrawals. Dr. Murray was moreover, Patron of the two disconnected Dublin schools. In this letter, Br.Rice hoped that the Archbishop would not be displeased.[38] The annalist of the North Richmond Street School records the events in this way:

> This step was taken without apprizing the Archbishop of the Brothers' intention to withdraw, which omission was simply an oversight on the part of the Brothers; but his Grace was one of the Commissioners and a warm supporter of the system took offence at this want of courtesy, and manifested his displeasure by withdrawing thenceforth £40 a year which he was in the habit of giving to the Hanover Street Schools. The only

> explanation which his Grace gave of the sudden withdrawal of the sum was that 'the party who paid it had ceased to contribute it any longer.' 39

There is no other explanation for the delay in communicating with Dr. Murray. D.S. Blake has commented on this in this manner: "was it that they were afraid of his reactions, seeing he supported the Board so enthusiastically, and possibly decided that a fait accompli was the only way of getting around any objections he would surely have".[40]

The communication of the Brothers' disconnection was, then, low-keyed. Yet, there are other indications of the causal threads that led to the severence - some tentatively alluded to; others pointedly stated.

By 1838, most of the Brothers' schools were in severe financial difficulties. The idea of fee-paying (pay) schools was in the minds of many of the capitulants who met for the 1838 Chapter. It convened in July, with three schools still connected to the Board: Dungarvan, Ennis and Ennistymon.

The Chapter of 1838: The three schools still in connection with the Board were discussed within a few days of the Chapter starting. Before a decision was taken, however, a sub-committee was appointed, as before, to examine the funds of these schools. The committee reported on August 6th, and when it was discussed, a decision was reached on the position of National Schools. It was decreed:

> that the Dungarvan establishment hold no connection with the Board of National Education after the receipt of the next half-yearly grant;
>
> that we condemn the connection of Ennistymon and Ennis houses with the National Board and impose on the government of our Institute the obligation of severing the connexion

> as soon as other means can be procured for the support of these establishments.[41]

It was almost a year before Dungarvan effected this directive.

It was at this Chapter that it was decided to set up pay schools. This, in effect, meant a fee-paying class within an existing school. The schools chosen were Mill Street and Hanover Street, Dublin - schools which had lost financial support, one from the National Board, the other from Dr.Murray. The wording of the decree gives some clue to the objective: pay schools were

> to receive from children of easy circumstances, such sums as they may feel disposed to give, in order to enable the Brothers to uphold these establishments. [42]

withdrawal from the Board was not achieved without its due hardship.

The Ennis establishment was unfortunate in having an unwelcoming Dean O'Shaughnessy as their reluctant provider. Due to this reluctance, they had a £200 mortgage on the premises which the National Board redeemed, vesting the school in the Board as a result.[43] The Brothers suffered two drops in income in the following years, one when the Dean reduced this contribution to them while building his new church, and, the other when, with the rate of salary changes in 1839, their income from the Board was nearly halved.[44] This made them even more dependant on the reluctant Dean, a dependence they did not relish.

The Brothers withdrew from Ennis altogether in September 1840. The manner of their departure is not referred to in the Ennis House Annals, but there does exist the inspector's report to the Board concerning the matter. In a letter dated September, 30th, 1840, he wrote:

> ... Upon the former teachers retiring during vacation, Dean O'Shaughnessy took the opportunity of stating that they need not return as he would not be any longer instrumental in taxing the resources of the parish with sums collected for their support. Upon this, one retired and was succeeded by Mr.(Br.) Manifold, . . . but he and his brother teacher are unwilling to open the school under the circumstances and only await the instructions of the Board and the receipt of their half-yearly salary. 45

The Brothers were withdrawn and the Dean proceeded to appoint two lay teachers to take the school. The school, then, remained a National school under the Board, but was no longer recognised as a Monastic school.

The Brothers returned in 1853, under a new Dean. With his encouragement they 're-occupied' the school against the wishes of the Board.[46] However, the Board did not proceed against them, and the final comment on the matter is in 1870, where an inspector reported that:

> ... Ennis, the vested premises ... has actually been appropriated for the use of the latter (the Christian Brothers). 47

The General Chapter of 1841, condemned, in words similar to those of 1838, the continued connection of the Ennistymon school.[48] The school was finally disconnected in 1857. The reason quoted by the Commissioners in their Report that year was "house being out of repair and without adequate and suitable furniture".[49] That the schoolhouse was in this condition is correct.[50] In the letters published in 1870 (Powis), it is apparent that there was a deteriorating relationship between the Brothers and the Board, through its inspectors, from about 1847.[51]

In 1853 and 1855 there were tighter interpretations of existing Board's rules in relation to prayer, signs-of-the-cross as being interruptions to secular instruction,[52] and there was a change of rule which excluded clergymen and male members of religious orders being recognised as teachers.[53] Text books other than those sanctioned by the Board were prohibited. Each of these, in their strict implementation, was a source of increasing conflict and the many letters between the Board and the correspondent, Fr. John Sheehan attest to this harrassment.[54] The newly appointed superior, Br. O'Sullivan, wrote in late 1856, to the Superior General, suggesting disconnection, and when Dr. Fallon, the Bishop, was in a position to offer an income of £70 per annum to the Brothers, their remaining in Ennistymon, without the National Board's income was assured.[55]

The Bishop communicated this assurance to the community on April 24th, 1857, and the Board was informed of the establishment's disconnection on May 1st.

Thus was the last connection between the Brothers and the Board sundered.

Conclusion

Though individual Brothers may not have felt connection to the Board as injurious, those charged with governing the Order did: injurious to the spirit and discipline of the Order, and, ultimately, they felt, to education in Ireland. The experience of founding schools in England did not present as difficult a set of circumstances or conditions as those prevailing in Ireland. Moreover, it was beginning to be felt that the future of the Order might, in fact, be in locations other than in Ireland. Future Brothers' foundations in Ireland, at this time, would be a burden on any parish or diocese when compared with the financial advantages offered by the Board.

The Brothers did not, at any stage of their connection, attempt to shape the system to their advantage. True to the trial nature of their connection, they carried on their work, to as great a degree as possible, whilst being connected in the passive sense. After this trial period, they made their assessment and withdrew. No contact was made with Dr. Murray concerning their proposed discussion at the 1836 Chapter, nor was their decision immediately forwarded to him. He was rightly annoyed.

There was at the time, a strong feeling of congregation and the establishing of a sense of identity within the Order. The defining trait of the Order was the free education of the poor in piety and the fear of God, and as teachers they were emulated. Their own poverty and financially stretched situation added to this sense of fragility. Their code and discipline, their commitment to their religious ideal, highlighted the constraints that the Board's regulations meant for them. Connection meant a National school, whilst independence meant a Christian School (which was how they were known in those years: The Brothers of the Christian Schools).

The new Superior General, in a letter to Dr. Cullen, in Rome, in 1843, wrote, that

> If we were to attach outselves to the National Board, we would lose our characteristic as a religious body and merge more into secular school masters.57

By the mid-1830s the Brothers were well on the way to developing their own system: they had their own Model School at North Richmond Street, they were developing their own system for community and school inspection and had only temporarily ceased from publishing their own texts. Gillespie says of these developments:

> Ideally, they aimed to be managers of their own schools and had a strong tradition of independence of both Church and State. 58

In a general sense, with these developing traits, there was little hope of compromise with the National Board. Without this compromise, the maintenance of the connection was impossible. Unlike the denominational groups, the Brothers never agitated - they quietly withdrew, the poorer on the one hand - financially; the richer on the other - freedom to fulfil their mission in accordance "with the discipline and spirit of the institute".

REFERENCES

1. M.C. Normoyle, A Tree is Planted, (2nd Ed). (Dublin: The Christian Brothers, private circulation, 1976), p. 273.

2. A Christian Brother, Edmund Rice and the Christian Brothers. (Dublin: Gill, 1926), p.235.

3. Royal Commission of Inquiry into Primary Education, Ireland, Vol.I, pt.1, Report of the Commissioners, (C6), H.C. 1870, xxxviii, Pt.1, p.31.

4. The Commissioners looked with favour on applications from Protestant and Catholic clergy, and Protestant and Catholic laymen and from Clergy of one denomination and parishioners of the other.

5. Fourth Report of the Commissioners of National Education, 1837, (110), H.C. 1837-1838, xxxviii, pp.367-412.

6. Normoyle, A Tree is Planted, p.206.

7. Fourth Report of the Commissioners, p.6

8. Ibid., p.7.

9. Donal S. Blake, The Christian Brothers and Education in the Nineteenth Century, M.Ed., Thesis, University College, Cork 1977, p.535-536.

10. William J. Bracken, A Study of the Contributions of the Christian Brothers to the Development of Irish Education, M.Ed. Thesis, Trinity College, Dublin, 1981, p.72.

11. J.D. Fitzpatrick, Edmund Rice, Founder and First Superior General of the Brothers of the Christian Schools of Ireland. (Dublin: Gill, 1945), p. 255.

12. Normoyle, A Tree is Planted, p. 275-276, and Fitzpatrick, Edmund Rice, p. 257.

13. A Report of the Select Committee of the House of Lords on the Plan of Education in Ireland, H.C. 1837, viii, pt.i and pt.ii, p.888.

14. Ibid., p. 621.

15. Normoyle, A Tree is Planted, p. 276.

16. Donald H.Akenson, *The Irish Education Experiment*. (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1970), p.187.

17. Advertised in the *Waterford Chronicle*, 23rd January, 1828, quoted in Normoyle, p.213.

18. Commissioners of National Education, *Application Book*, Register 2c, 67.

19. Akenson, *Irish Education*, p.247.

20. *Fourth Report of the Commissioners*, Appendix 4,p.596.

21. Akenson, *Irish Education*, p.247.

22. Circular Letter, 22nd January, 1838, in M.C.Normoyle, *A Companion to a Tree is Planted: the Correspondence of Edmund Rice and his Assistants*, 1810-1842, private publication: the Christian Brothers, 1975, p.515.

23. Normoyle, *A Tree is Planted*, p.409.

24. Ibid., p.289.

25. Ibid.

26. Ibid., p.279.

27. Ibid.

28. Christian Brothers, *The Educational Record*, an annual private publication, the Christian Brothers, 1891 ... (in progress), 1897, p.71.

29. W. Gillespie, *The Christian Brothers in England,1825-1880*. (Bristol: the Burleigh Press for the Christian Brothers, 1975), p.170.

30. *CFC/G, (Rome) Armadio 4, "General Chapters", 1,* Minutes, (MS) pp.23-24. Blake, in private communication.

31. Ibid.

32. The Brothers who taught in St Patrick's lived in Mount Sion and it's probably to this school they refer.

33. *Royal Commission (Powis)* 1870, Vol,VII, Section xiv, p.466.

34. Ibid., p.467.

35. *House of Lords Report*, 1837, p.1246.

36. Akenson, *Irish Education*, p.183.

37. *Royal Commission (Powis)*, (1870), Vol.VII, Section xiv, p.466.

38. Rice to Dr.Murray, June 4, 1837, in Normoyle, *Companion*, p.498.

39. North Richmond Street, *House Annals*, pp.21-22.

40. Donal S. Blake, in a written communication.

41. Normoyle, *A Tree is Planted*, p.321.

42. "*General Chapters*" (of the Christian Brothers), Minutes, pp.31-32.

43. Christian Brothers School, Ennis: *Centenary Record, 1827-1927*, Limerick, 1927, p.18.

44. *Royal Commission, (Powis)*, 1870, Vol.VII, p.384.

45. Ibid., p.454.

46. Ibid., pp.454-455.

47. *Royal Commission (Powis)*, Vol.II, p.289.

48. Decrees of the General Chapter, 1841, p.20.

49. *Twenty-fourth Report of the Commissioners*, 1857,p.215.

50. Christian Brothers, *Mount St Joseph, Ennistymon, 1824-1974*. Naas: 1974.

51. *Royal Commission (Powis)*, Vol.VII, pp.452-453.

52. Eustas O hEideain, *National School Inspection in Ireland: the Beginnings*. (Dublin: Scepter Books, 1967).

53. *Royal Commission (Powis)*, 1870, Vol.I, p.151.

54. For an accessible account, c.f. O hEideain, *School Inspection*, pp.116-117.

55. Ennistymon, *House Annals*.

56. Normoyle, *A Tree is Planted*, p.276, and O hEideain, *School Inspection*, p. 118.

57. Letter, M.P. Riordan to Dr. Paul Cullen on March 11, 1843, in Normoyle, The Roman Correspondence: treating the early years of the Institute, 1803-1844, Dublin: private circulation, the Christian Brothers, 1978, p.359.

58. Gillespie, The Christian Brothers in England, p.42.

Irish Educational Studies, Vol.3, No.2, 1983.

THE TREASURY AND IRISH EDUCATION: 1850-1922: THE MYTH AND THE REALITY

Aine Hyland

A number of historians of Irish education have created an image of the nineteenth and early twentieth century Treasury as a body antagonistic to Irish education, intent on preventing reform, cutting back on public expenditure on education and generally frustrating any efforts to improve Irish education.

T.J. McElligott, describing the power structure of Irish education wrote:

> Nominally, at least, supreme authority lay with the Lord Lieutenant who stood at the apex of the educational pyramid, but real power resided with the Lords of the Treasury and their concern with education was slight. [1]

D.H. Akenson seemed to infer in the following sentence that the power of the Treasury was arbitrary:

> The Treasury authorities in London could divert Irish educational funds to pay for some other imperial venture any time they wished. [2]

This view of the Treasury is a reflection of widely held and disseminated contemporary attitudes. Baron Fallas, a member of both the National and the Intermediate Boards, complained to the Lord Lieutenant in 1896, about the 'stranglehold the Treasury held upon the throat of Irish education'.[3] Archbishop Walsh reflected in 1900 that:

> it is a very discouraging thing and it necessarily has a very deterrent effect to feel beforehand that one can do nothing unless he can succeed in first

> instructing and then converting to his views a number of people whose very identity is unknown to him; who live, in fact, during official hours in London, like the judges we read of in the tribunals of the old Venetian Republic. 4

Padraig Pearse stated in 1907 that:

> As surely as one of our Education Boards exhibits an all too rare gleam of intelligence, as surely as one of them proposes to do something useful and progressive, so surely does the British Treasury step in with its 'I forbid'. At every point and in every department of Irish education, that impressive and relentless tyranny bars the path to reform.5

Other contemporary commentators also projected a negative image of the Treasury. Sir Henry Robinson, Vice-President of the Local Government Board wrote in 1902:

> The permanent officials of the Treasury have always hated the name of Ireland . . . the young watch-puppies of the Treasury would start up like fretful porcupines when schemes from Irish departments came before them.

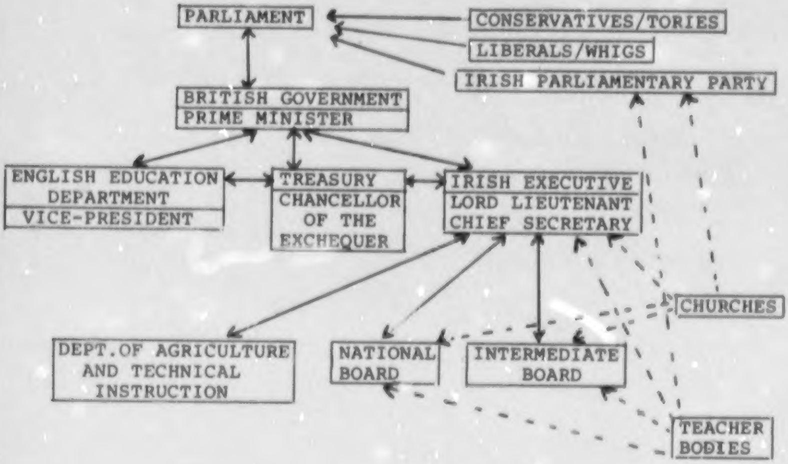
And in 1918, Major Dease, a member of the National Board wrote:

> Treasury minutes lay down, with calmest impertinence, their views as to what should or should not be done with education by so-called independent boards in Ireland who are there responsible for it ....

This paper attempts to provide an alternative interpretation of the Treasury's attitude to Irish education. Its role in the monitoring of public funds will be seen in a broader perspective and education will emerge as one of many departments which experienced tensions with the Treasury.

In an effort to gain a more comprehensive overview of the situation, the following diagram showing the complex inter-relationship of the different bodies involved in decision-making in Irish education is presented.

DIAGRAM I


PARLIAMENT
CONSERVATIVES/TORIES
LIBERALS/WHIGS
IRISH PARLIAMENTARY PARTY
BRITISH GOVERNMENT
PRIME MINISTER
ENGLISH EDUCATION DEPARTMENT
VICE-PRESIDENT
TREASURY
CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER
IRISH EXECUTIVE
LORD LIEUTENANT
CHIEF SECRETARY
CHURCHES
DEPT.OF AGRICULTURE AND TECHNICAL INSTRUCTION
NATIONAL BOARD
INTERMEDIATE BOARD
TEACHER BODIES

The ultimate decisions in relation to education as in other areas of government were a matter for Parliament. The attitudes of a strong government would be a decisive factor in the outcome of parliamentary decisions but during periods when Irish members held the balance of power in Westminister or when government was anxious to propitiate the Irish representatives, the attitudes of the Irish M.P.s could be a major determinent of Irish policy. The decisions of government were implemented by administrative departments or boards. But the powers of the administrative departments were limited by a body which occupied an important position between them and

Parliament - i.e. the Treasury. Basil Chubb has written:

> The fact that Parliament usually defines only ends does not imply that departments are therefore free to choose their means. The Treasury holds a central supervisory position, difficult to define but clearly recognised and fostered by Parliament. And since efficiency in the nation's affairs cannot normally be measured in terms of profits gained, but is seen in welfare which is well nigh impossible to measure or define, the complicated business of the state is done according to rules. It falls to the Treasury to make many of these rules which are of a supra-departmental level. 6

The Treasury's role might be summarised as one of reassuring parliament that its wishes in relation to public expenditure were being carried out. In this context, it is significant to note that the position of the First Lord of the Treasury was almost invariably held by the Prime Minister himself. The Treasury was also formally charged with the co-ordination of the different branches of the civil service. With a view to achieving this, the nineteenth century Treasury attempted to impose a degree of uniformity on various branches of the civil service, particularly on those involved in similar areas of administration. To this extent, the Treasury drew parallels between the departments which administered public funds for education in Great Britain and the boards which were involved in educational administration in Ireland.

An outline of the growth of Treasury power in the period under review will serve as a backdrop for an analysis of public expenditure on education. The appointment of W.E. Gladstone as Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1852 was a milestone in the history of the Treasury. Gladstone was concerned with the need for efficiency and economy in the public service and said:

> Economy is the first and great article
> in my financial creed. 7

He was closely associated with the creation of Treasury procedures which would help to bring about this economy and efficiency. He set up the Civil Service Commission which laid down recruitment standards and procedures and this eventually led to greater co-ordination between different branches of the civil service. Treasury ministers were answerable to parliament for the work of the Civil Service Commissioners and the approval of the Treasury was required for requisitions drawn up by the Commissioners.

In 1861, an Order in Council strengthened the power of the Treasury. This Order laid down that the estimates of all government departments had to be approved by the Treasury before being presented to Parliament; a Public Accounts Committee was also set up to monitor public expenditure.

Five years later, in 1866, the Exchequer and Audit Act required the Treasury to ensure that all payments made out of public money conformed to proper official authority; that they were in accordance with the purposes of the parliamentary votes to which they were chargeable and that the total of these votes was not exceeded. It firmly established the concept that money would be annually voted for each department under specific heads for clearly defined purposes. Money voted by parliament would have to be used for these purposes within a given year. Any sums not expended within the year would have to be surrendered to the Treasury. The provisions of the Exchequer and Audit Act gave the Treasury power to intervene in the details of spending of the votes of the different departments and by implication to involve itself in the interpretation of policy.

Gladstone was succeeded as Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1868 by Robert Lowe. This appointment ensured that Gladstons's policies of economy could continue. Lowe was 'orthodox in his financial principles and severe in his parsimony'.[8] He appointed R.R.W.Lingen as Permanent Secretary to the Treasury in 1870 - a post which he held until 1885. Lingen was also a strict economist

> resolutely determined that the expenditure of public money should be severely checked, and his temptation was to look with a suspicious and grudging eye upon every claim involving as increase in outlay.

A government committee in 1875 (the Playfair Committee) supported the role of the Treasury as an arbiter of departmental expenditure. This committee felt that

> the position of the Treasury in relation to other departments should be as strong as possible . . . that it should be able to exercise an efficient and intelligent control (over other departments). [10]

During the years of Lingen's reign as Permanent Secretary, other departments of the public service grew to resent what they saw as undue interference by the Treasury. Lingen was harsh and unsympathetic and this was ultimately counterproductive. By the time he retired in 1885, the Treasury had become very unpopular with the other heads of departments and efforts were successfully made to reduce its power. Referring to this in 1902, Lord Welby said:

> ... by the eighties public opinion has changed and it no longer puts much stress on economy; that change at once finds its reflection in the House of Commons and I should say that from that time the wind was in the sails of the spending departments and the effective power of control in the Chancellor of the Exchequer proportionately diminished. [11]

George Goschen, who was Chancellor of the Exchequer from 1887 to 1892, was closely associated with the change in attitude to Treasury control. Goschen was well-disposed to the spending departments and he was fortunate that during his term of office, revenue to the Exchequer showed an upward rise following a steady decline during the previous ten years. Three legislative measures passed during Goschen's chancellorship benefitted education in Britain and Ireland.

Lord Salisbury, who became Prime Minister in 1892, found the fiscal duties of First Lord of the Treasury distasteful and he choose to delegate this responsibility to one of his Cabinet. (One of those who held the post of First Lord during Salisbury's premiership was A.J.Balfour). Salisbury was overtly critical of the Treasury and accused it of thwarting development schemes in the Empire. In 1895, he stated that

> when the Treasury lays it hands on any matter connected with the future development of the British Empire, the chances of our Imperial policy are small. 12

Four years later, he criticised

> the very peculiar position given by our system to the Treasury, which is very galling to other departments, 13

and he alleged that "in small matters the Treasury interferes too much". From these quotations, one can see that criticism of the Treasury was an acceptable pastime around 1900 and the quotations in the earlier part of this paper by Baron Palles, Archbishop Walsh, Padraig Pearse et al might be seen in this context.

The Boer War caused severe economic problems for the government and increased military spending was counterbalanced by cut-back in the 'spening departments'. The early years of the twentieth century saw a return to the economic buoyancy of the late nineteenth century but in 1906, Liberal Chancellor of the Exchequer Asquith, announced that he would return to a "more thrifty and economical administration, the first and paramount duty of the government". Two years later, Lloyd-George replaced him and immediately adopted a different approach when he declared:

> I am the only Chancellor who ever began by saying and meaning to spend money.

The great social reforms of the Liberal Government in the period 1908-1914, such as old-age pensions, unemployment, and health insurance, medical inspection of children, etc., were all passed during Lloyd-George's chancellorship. The First World War brought severe financial problems in its train. The period 1914-1918 was characterised by an unprecedented level of inflation and public spending (other than spending on defence) was kept to a minimum. Post-war reconstruction saw a significant growth in public funding in areas such as education and Ireland benefitted from the extra funds which were made available, as we will see later in the paper.

Irish National Education

The setting up of the national school system in 1831, marked the beginning of state intervention in Irish elementary education. Responsibility for administering the state grant lay with the National Board and under the terms of the Stanley letter, the Board had 'complete control' over the funds at its disposal. This letter pre-dated the formalisation of Treasury control over all funds voted by parliament. During the first 20 years of the Board's existence, state grants grew rapidly and decisions on the allocation of the grant were largely a

74

matter for the Board. With the growth of Treasury control generally after 1852, came a gradual erosion of the autonomy of the National Board in relation to expenditure on national education and the reduction of the power of the Board in this regard became more marked after the passing of the Exchequer and Audit Act in 1866. After the passing of this act, the National Board, like all other administrative departments were subject to its provisions, i.e. the Board's annual estimates were submitted to the Treasury in November for the following financial year (April-March); estimated expenditure was set out under heads and sub-heads; savings in one area could not be transferred to another and all unexpended balances had to be relinquished to the Exchequer at the end of the year. The expenditure of the National Board was also monitored by the Accountant and Auditor General to ensure that it was in keeping with the purpsoes for which it was voted.

During the 1850s and 1860s there was little or no tension between the National Board and the Treasury because the Treasury believed that expenditure on elementary education was in line with that in Britain and they perceived that the system of administration was more efficient here than in Britain. Following the introduction of payment by results in Britain in 1864, pressure began to build up from the Treasury for greater economy in the Irish system. The cost per pupil in elementary education in England fell as a result of payment by results but the costs in Ireland continued to rise. When payment by results was introduced in Ireland in 1872, results fees were paid in addition to staff salaries not in lieu as had happened in Britain. Consequently the new system resulted in an increase of 30 per cent in the exchequer contribution to Irish education.

The 1870 Education Act in England had further reduced the financial pressure on the central exchequer. With the introduction of a local rate for Board schools in England, a predictable and significant proportion of educational costs would be met locally. Efforts under the 1875 Act in Ireland to levy rates through the Poor Law Unions were unsuccessful and the amount collected in this way in Ireland never exceeded four per cent of total current expenditure on national education. In 1883 it was estimated by the National Board that the total local contribution towards Irish national education (including subscriptions, endowments, rates, fees and contributions) was less than 22 per cent, the comparable proportion was 55 per cent. The cost to the state for every pupil attending an elementary school in England was £0.92p; in Ireland, it was £1.53 or 66 per cent more than England.[14]

If Gladstone's efforts in the early 1880s to introduce Provincial Councils and/or a Central Board in Ireland had been successful, the problem of an inadequate local contribution for education might well have been solved but these efforts failed and when the Conservative government came to power in 1886, the situation in relation to Irish education was unchanged from the previous decade.

Efforts by the Treasury to impose a degree of uniformity on the Irish and British systems of education had been successfully resisted in the 1870s and 1880s when the result would have meant a decrease in public funding for Irish education but when it meant an increase in public funding an element of uniformity was accepted without any protest. Such an example was the introduction in the early 1890s of the "school grant" in lieu of fees by Chancellor of the Exchequer, George Goschen. With the introduction of compulsory and free elementary education in England in 1891, the government made arrangements to indemnify the schools there for loss of income from parental contributions or fees. Extra grants "in lieu of local taxation" were paid from central funds to English elementary schools and Goschen proposed that pro-rata grants should be paid to Scotland and Ireland in a proportion of 80:11:9. The annual grant to Irish national education from this source (called the school grant) was in the region of £250,000 per annum. A further annual grant of £78,000 was also paid to Irish national education during Goschen's chancellorship; this grant became popularly known as the "whiskey money" and was the excise revenue from sales of alcohol on which a new excise duty had been imposed. Thus, while the systems of education in Ireland and the rest of the U.K. had evolved along significantly different lines after 1870, Irish education benefitted from additional grants given in England and Scotland. During the period 1870-1900 there is evidence that Treasury officials were irritated by the failure of the government to insist on a uniform system of administration of education in Ireland and the rest of the U.K. but political considerations had outweighed financial expediency and the government had refused to bow to Treasury pressure for reform. By the end of the nineteenth century, the parliamentary grant per pupil in attendance in Irish national schools was £2.50. In England the comparable figure was £1.80.[15]

Matters came to a head at the turn of the century. The Acts of 1899 and 1902 in England had rationalised the administration of education there; had simplified the task of the Treasury in the allocation of public funds, and had resulted in a much more efficient system of administering education. In Ireland the Local Government Act of 1898 had set up a framework which would enable a similar system of administration in this country. There is evidence that even before 1900 government and Treasury officials were discussing the possibility of a radical reform of educational administration in Ireland.[16]

Coupled with this, the Treasury coffers were being depleted by military spending on the Boer War, and it seemed a suitable time to cut back on Irish educational expenditure. A committee on school buildings which included representatives of the Treasury, the National Board and the Board of Works, reported in 1902 and recommended that a system of local rating be introduced in support of Irish national education.[17] A letter from Chief Secretary Wyndham to the Treasury in December 1902, supported such a move and the Dale report of 1904 contained the same proposal. Wyndham floated the proposal in parliament in spring 1904 but it soon became clear that Catholic Church interests in Ireland were vehemently opposed to any change in the national school system. The Irish Parliamentary Party supported the Church in the matter and the government conceded defeat within a year. In 1905, Wyndham wrote to the Treasury asking for additional funding from the Exchequer for Irish national education. The frustration of the Treasury at the government's failure to insist on reform is evident in a letter from Victor Cavendish, Financial Secretary to the Treasury to Dublin Castle on 14 March 1905:

> His Excellency (i.e. Wyndham) states that he has arrived at the conclusion that there is no immediate prospect of eliciting any material amount out of the rates ... the proper remedy for the default of localities in respect of upkeep of schools vested in trustees is to take steps by legislation to impose this charge upon the rates; and My Lords (of the Treasury) cannot regard the fact that circumstances are unfavourable for making this charge as a reason for accentuating further the existing inequality between Ireland the rest of the U.K. in respect of the amount of the expenditure on national education defrayed out of votes of parliament in comparison with that contributed from local sources. [18]

It is significant to note that around this period, over 50 per cent of current educational costs in England were paid from local sources. In Ireland, the comparable proportion was 5.5 per cent.[19]

With the appointment of Birrell as Chief Secretary in 1906, the question of educational reform was again mooted. The Irish Council Bill of 1907 contained measures which would increase state grants for Irish education but would involve a rationalisation of the administrative system. The Bill was strenuously opposed by the Catholic Church and the Irish Party refused to support the Bill in parliament. Birrell was forced to abandon the Bill and the experience brought home to the government the realisation that any attempt to interfere with Irish education could be political suicide. The defeat of the Bill coincided with Lloyd-George's appointment as Chancellor of the Exchequer and Birrell used the opportunity to gain an increase in government grants for national education.

In spite of the problems experienced by the National Board during the first decade of the century, the per capita grant from the state for national education increased from £2.83 per pupil in 1900/01 to £3.40 in 1909/10 - an increase of 20 per cent in the 10-year period. The cost of living had increased by 4 per cent in the same period. Seen in this context, State expenditure on Irish national education in the first decade of the century was not as unsatisfactory as many of the Treasury's critics would have one believe. By the end of the decade, the total cost to the Exchequer for every pupil attending an Irish national school was £3.60; the comparable amount in England was £2.22. The proportion of the total cost of elementary education paid from state funds in England was 46 per cent; in Ireland it was 92 per cent.[20]

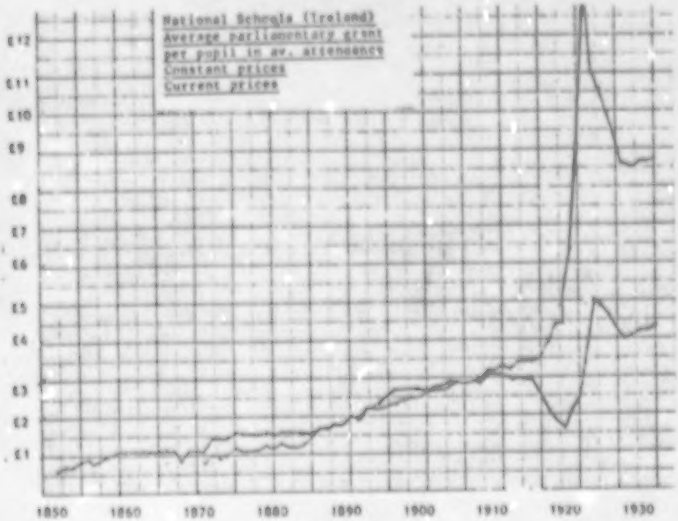
During the second decade of the 20th century, the government contribution to national education began to show a decline in real terms. Even before the outbreak of the First World War, inflation had begun to erode the value of grants and this inflation escalated rapidly during and immediately after the war. As a result, the value of government grants to national education fell by almost 50 per cent in the period from 1910 to 1918. Nevertheless, Irish education continued to be more generously financed by the Treasury than English elementary education. In 1919, in his evidence to the Vice-Regal Committee on Primary Education in Ireland (the Killanin committee), the Treasury Remembrancer, Maurice Headlam, pointed out that Irish national education received more than 60 per cent per pupil than elementary education in England.[21] The cost to the Exchequer for Ireland was £5.25 per pupil; for England it was £3.22.[22] Three years later the State paid £9.10 per pupil for Irish education; in England the equivalent amount per pupil was £6.30.[23]

Throughout the 50-year period from 1870 to 1920, the average government expenditure per pupil in attendance in elementary education in Ireland was consistently higher than in England; on average, the per capita grant was 60 per cent greater in Ireland than in England. Many educationalists would reject this admittedly simplistic comparison of educational expenditure in Ireland and England and would argue that such comparison ignored the essential differences between the two countries - differences of population distribution, of denominational affiliation and of educational structure. The point being made in this paper is that since Ireland belonged to the legislative Union, the Treasury was required to co-ordinate as far as possible, the different administrative systems within the Union. It was not the business of the Treasury to become involved in the political problems of Ireland; the Treasury's concern was to optimise government funds and since Irish education was costing so much more than English education, it was not surprising that the Treasury expressed continuing concern about the issue.

Summarising the situation, we have the following picture of government expenditure per pupil in average attendance in Irish national schools from 1852 to 1930.

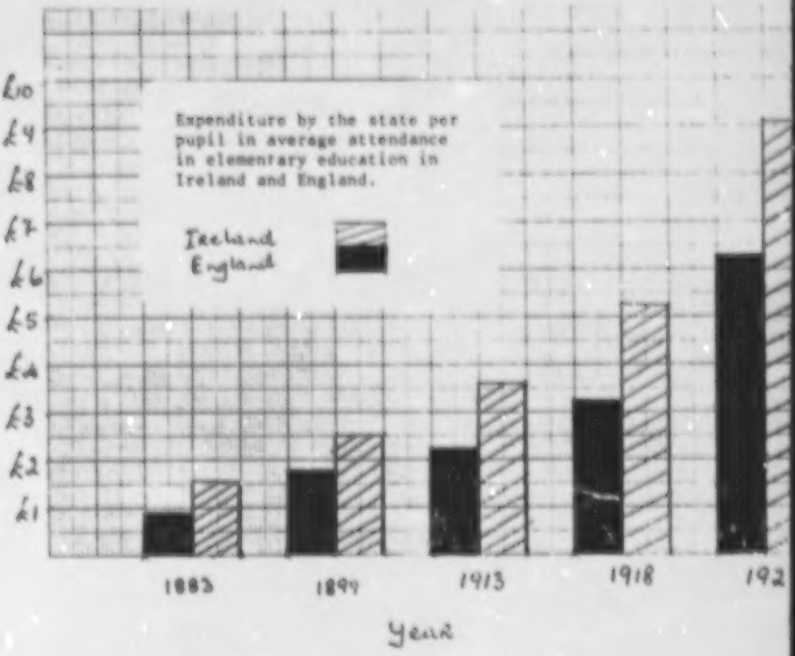
DIAGRAM II

Graph showing average parliamentary grant per pupil in national schools in constant and current prices, 1852 to 1930.



In terms of a comparison with government grants per pupil in English elementary education, the picture that emerges is that of consistently higher funding of Irish education - as the following chart shows:

DIAGRAM III



Intermediate Education

Before concluding, brief reference should be made to the financing of intermediate education in Ireland. In this area, more than in the area of national education, a negative and sometimes inaccurate picture of the Treasury has been presented in the past. Intermediate education, unlike national education, was almost totally free from Treasury control before the First World War. Financing, in the early years, was by way of interest from a capital endowment of one million pounds transferred to the Commissioners of Intermediate Education from the Church Temporalities fund in 1878. This sum was invested by the Intermediate Board to yield an annual income of about £30,000. This sum was used to defray all costs incurred by the Board - results fees, prizes and exhibitions and all administrative and examination costs. In 1892, a further sum became available from the Local Taxation (Excise) Grant and this grant which fluctuated annually, added an average of £45,000 per annum to its own funds and it did not have to refer to the Treasury for approval of its spending pattern. There was ambiguity as to the status of the Intermediate Board as a department of the civil service and it was not subject to the provisions of the Exchequer and Audit Act.

The Treasury has been consistently blamed for the fact that the Intermedaite Board was prevented from appointing permanent inspectors in the years 1902 to 1910. This accusation was first made by the Board itself in its annual report in 1903; repeated in the Dale and Stephens report in 1905, widely disseminated by Padraig Pearse and repeated in recent histories. An exhaustive search of Treasury records failed to find any evidence for this accusation. On the contrary, Chief Secretary Wyndham made it clear in 1902 that he did not propose to seek Treasury sanction for a permanent inspectorate, stating:

> ... the Irish government would not feel justified in recommending the present proposal (appointment of inspectors) to the Treasury unless it can be accompanied by a scheme for reducing the Board's expenditure for examination and other purposes... 24

During the following six years, the failure to appoint inspectors was attributed on a number of occasions to Treasury obduracy. Pearse wrote in 1907:

> The Treasury it was that by stopping supplies compelled the Board to dismiss its staff of temporary inspectors a few years ago; the Treasury it is that by refusing a grant for the purpose prevents the Board from appointing a permanent staff as it has repeatedly proposed to do. 25

This accusation was refuted by Archbishop Walsh who pointed out that it was not the Treasury which prevented inspectors from being appointed and "that it is not a question of funds at all".[26] A year later, Chief Secretary Birrell confirmed this in a letter to Baron Palles when he wrote:

> The Treasury, as far as I know, has never been approached upon the subject of the appointment of inspectors ... 27

Some years later, Judge Craig, a member of the Intermediate Board, again suggested Treasury involvement when he told a conference of managers that the Intermediate Board "have been constantly representing for a series of years until we all got sick, sore and sorry that we wanted a system of inspection introduced and the constant answer was that we had no money to do it".[28] However, he afterwards clarified this statement when he admitted that the Intermediate Board had never asked either the Irish government of the Treasury for money and justified this by saying that

> in informal conversation and so forth, it was conveyed to certain members of the Board that there was no use in their doing so (i.e. asking for extra funds). 29

Internal evidence makes it quite clear that during the years 1900-1910, the Intermediate Board deliberately refrained from requesting additonal money for intermediate education and on more than one occasion reassured the Irish Executive that its funds were more than adequate. Perhaps the Board feared that such a request would be used by the government to justify administrative reform or perhaps Starkie, who was one of the most influential members of the Intermediate Board, feared that any money got for intermediate education would reduce the government grant for national education. He was aware that the Treasury would have liked to allocate a composite grant for all levels of education in Ireland as they did in England. He was also aware that national education in Ireland was in receipt of a considerably greater grant than elementary education in England. The fact that the grant for intermediate education in Ireland was nil certainly indicated that Ireland had a right to government funds for this purpose and this right was acknowledged by Chief Secretary Birrell in 1911. However, there was nothing the government could do until the Intermediate Board asked for additional funds. It was not until considerable pressure was brought to bear by school authorities and teachers that the Intermediate Board agreed in 1912 to apply for a government grant for intermediate education.

At this point Birrell indicated that the government would be willing to allocate a grant to Irish Intermediate education approximately equivalent to the grant being given to English secondary education. It was widely expected that this grant could ultimately amount to £100,000 for Ireland. But the management authorities of Catholic intermediate schools preferred that their schools be starved of funds than to submit to conditions which they regarded as unacceptable. Canon Murphy of the Catholic Headmasters' Association went so far as to accuse the government of attempting to

> seize the schools built and maintained
> by the Bishops and Religious Orders
> for the Catholic people of Ireland and
> to turn them into Government schools. 30

He added:

> We are unable to see that such a claim differs from the claim of the governments of France and Portugal to the right of forcible confiscation.

The Catholic authorities blamed the Treasury for imposing conditions on the grant. Canon Murphy wrote:

> The Treasury in aiming at a very desirable improvement in the position of lay teachers, for the first time in the history of intermediate education in Ireland, attached to a grant conditions involving a principle which in the case of Catholic schools is irreconcilable with their fundamental liberty in the selection of the best teacher for each vacancy as it arises. 31

But it was Birrell who had attached these conditions to the grant when he had presented the proposal to parliament. Moreover, this was the basis on which parliament had agreed to allocate the grant (known as the Teachers' Salaries Grant) to Irish intermediate education. The Treasury's role did not arise until the grant was paid and then the Treasury had the task of ensuring that the wishes of parliament were being honoured in the disposal of the grant. In 1914, the grant was eventually distributed to schools - an annual grant of £40,000. Birrell had in fact conceded to the pressure of the Catholic Headmasters' and the basis on which the grant was in practice distributed, took account of the reservations of the Catholic Headmasters. However, Birrell did not get the consent of parliament to the changes in the way he intended to distribute the grant and consequently the Treasury found it necessary to object to the fact that the grant was being paid on a basis that was "clearly inconsistent with the intention of the scheme" which had been presented to parliament by Birrell. The Controller and Auditor General also drew attention to this inconsistency but neither the government nor the Intermediate Board made any effort to rectify the situation before 1922.

After the war, a large increase was given to English secondary education as a result of the provisions of the Fisher Act of 1918. The government indicated its willingness to allocate an equivalent grant to Irish intermediate education and the Duke grant (named after Chief Secretary Duke) of £50,000 per annum was paid to intermediate education from 1918 to 1922. The government had hoped that this grant would be an interim measure pending the passing of legislation which would reform Irish education. But the proposed 1919 Education (Ireland) Bill suffered a fate similar to that of the Irish Council Bill of 1907 and no change was made in the administration of Irish education. Two years later, a further Interim Grant of £50,000 per annum was allocated to intermediate education, bringing the annual income of the Board to approximately £220,000 made up as follows:

Income from original endowment + accumulated funds (1878)	£35,000
Income in lieu of Local Taxation Grant (1892)	£45,000
Teachers Salaries Grant (1913/14)	£40,000
Duke Grant (1918)	£50,000
Interim Grant (1920)	£50,000

These grants were paid directly and unconditionally to the school authorities in the form of a block grant which was based on the results of the pupils at the Board examinations.

In spite of the additional grants voted by parliament in 1918 and 1920, Irish intermediate education was less generously aided from central funds than English intermediate education. In his evidence to the Vice-Regal Committee on Intermediate Education in 1919, (the Molloy Committee), Headlam admitted that "the amount earmarked (by the Government) for Intermediate education" was less than the proportion to which they could regard themselves entitled under the Goschen ratio. However, he emphasised that

> the funds voted by Parliament to Irish education as a whole exceeds the recognised proportion of 9 to 80. [32]

In 1918, the government paid about 60 per cent more for every pupil in secondary education in England than in Ireland. By 1921, with the addition of the Duke Grant and the Interim Grant the situation in relation to Irish intermediate education had improved considerably and the Intermediate Board was paying out about £7 per pupil on rolls in intermediate schools. The equivalent amount being paid from public funds in England was about £8.50.[33]

In the years 1920 and 1921, correspondence between the intermediate school authorities and the government suggests that the Treasury was being blamed for the unsatisfactory level of public funding of Irish intermediate education.[34] During these years the plight of lay teachers in intermediate schools became particularly acute. In spite of the increase in the government grant to intermediate education, many lay teachers were being paid grossly inadequate salaries and a number of these teachers made representations to members of parliament and of the government with a view to obtaining an improvement in their conditions. Among those approached was H.A.L.Fisher, President of the English Board of Education, and he supported the lay teachers who had approached him. He wrote to Chief Secretary Greenwood in 1921 and asked him:

> Are you proposing to make any suggestions to the Treasury? [35]

Greenwood's reply made it clear that he did not intend to do so. He was frustrated by the failure of his government to enact the Education Bill of 1919/20 and he reminded Fisher that

> it was intended to deal with their case (i.e. the salaries of lay teachers in intermediate schools) in the Irish Education Bill last year, but for reasons over which we have no control, it was not found possible to pass that Bill into law. 36

He did not intend to take any action to improve the salaries of lay teachers and stated:

> ... it is not possible to exercise any firm control under the present system over the expenditure of the grants made to Secondary Education in Ireland. This would make it very difficult, I think, to increase their grant. 37

There is no doubt that the problems of inadequate financing experienced by the Intermediate Board were caused not be the Treasury, but by the failure of the government and the school authorities to come to an acceptable agreemment about the conditions of payment of grants. The government felt strongly that voted moneys for intermediate education should be conditional on an adequate salary being paid to lay teachers. The Catholic management authorities opposed this, arguing that any conditions imposed by the government represented an undermining of the autonomy of intermediate schools. The Treasury was virtually silent during the period and should not be blamed for the inadequacy of public funding of intermediate education.

Conclusion

Overall, it is clear that the financial fortunes of education in Ireland were more closely related to the political/administrative developments of the country than to developments either in English education or in Treasury policies. The growth of government expenditure on Irish education was halted only when the Irish

Executive in Dublin Castle refused to support the claims of the National Board for further funds. This happened briefly in early 1870 when Gladstone had plans to introduce reform similar to reforms implemented in England and Scotland. As soon as Gladstone abandoned his plans for Irish educational reform, government funding for national education increased. A similar picture emerged in the early 1880s with Gladstone's plans for Devolution in Ireland and again in the first decade of the century when the stop/go attitude of the Irish Executive to educational/administrative reform was clearly reflected in the pattern of government funding of national education. There is undoubted evidence throughout the period that the Treasury attempted to halt the growth of public expenditure on Irish education and bring it into line with the situation in England but these attempts were to no avail except when the Irish government was prepared to support efforts to cut back on educational expenditure.

REFERENCES

1. T.J. McElligott, *Secondary Education in Ireland, 1870-1921*. (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1981), p. 165.
2. D.H. Akenson, *A Mirror to Kathleen's Face: education in independent Ireland, 1922-60*. (Montreal and London: McGill - Queen's University Press, 1975), p.5.
3. *Vice-Regal Committee of Inquiry into primary education (Ireland), 1913: Final Report*, p.5. (Col.7235), H.C. 1914, xxviii.
4. Confidential Evidence of W.J.M. Starkie to the Vice-Regal Committee of Inquiry into Primary Education (Dill Committee), 1913.
5. *An Chlaidheamh Soluis*.
6. Basil Chubb, *The Control of Public Expenditure* (Oxford, 1952), p. 108.
7. Henry Roseveare, *The Treasury*. (London: Allen Lane The Penquin Press, 1969, p.188.
8. *op*.*cit*., p.193.
9. *The Times*, 24 July 1905.
10. Report of the Civil Service Inquiry Commission (Playfair Report), H.C. 1875, xxiii.
11. P.P. 1902 (C387) quoted in Basil Chubb, *The Control of Public Expenditure*, p.65.
12. Henry Roseveare, *op*.*cit*., p.184.
13. Ibid.
14. *Report on the possibility of cheapening the cost of administering the vote for public education, Ireland, so far as may be consistent with the principles and policy of the system of national education, 1884*.
15. A.S. Bishop, *The Rise of a Central Authority for English Education.* (Cambridge University Press, 1971), p. 142.
16. Confidential Evidence of W.J.M. Starkie to the Dill Committee.

17. *Building grants for antional schools in Ireland, Report of the Commitee*, 1902.

18. Public Records Office, London. T.14.84, letter dated 14 March, 1905.

19. *Report of Mr. F.H. Dale, H.M.I., Board of Education, on Primary Education in Ireland*, (Col.1891), H.C. 1904, pars. 136 and 138.

20. *First Interim Report of the Committee on National Expenditure* (Geddes Committee),P.P.1922 (Cmd.1581), pp.102-122, and *Annual Report of the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland for 1913/14*, Table 40.

21. *Vice-Regal Committee of Inquiry into Primary Education (Ireland)*, 1918, Final Report,(Col.60), H.C. 1919, xxi.

22. Ibid.

23. *First Interim Report of the Geddes Committee*, p.279, and *Annual Report of the C.N.E.I.*, 1920/21.

24. State Paper Office, Dublin, C.S.O. R.P. 1914/1839, Letter dated 19 October, 1902.

25. *An Chlaidheamh Soluis*, 20 April 1907.

26. Quoted in T.J. McElligott, *op.cit*., p.82.

27. C.S.O. R.P. 1914/1839, letter dated January 1909.

28. *Reports of Conferences of the Intermediate Education Board*, 1909-1912.

29. Ibid.

30. *Irish Educational Review*, vol.vi, No.1, 1913,p.e8.

31. P.P. 1913, L, letter of 13 June 1913.

32. *Report of the Vice-Regal Committee on the Conditions of Service and Remuneration of Teachers in Intermediate Schools, and on the distribution of grants from public funds for intermediate education in Ireland*. 1919 (Cmd.66), H.C. 1919, xxi.

33. *First Interim Report of the Geddes Committee*.

34. P.R.O., London, Ed. 24/1347.

35. Ibid. 36. Ibid. 37. ibid.

Irish Educational Studies, Vol.3, No.2, 1983.

THE ROYAL COMMISSION ON TECHNICAL INSTRUCTION 1881 - 1884: THE IRISH DIMENSION

Kieran R. Byrne

The establishment of the Royal Commission on Technical Instruction 1881 - 1884 was an attempt to cast around for a solution to a pressing problem. Ever since the Great Industrial Exhibition at London in 1851 it was becoming increasingly obvious that British industrial and economic predominance was being keenly contested by her European counterparts notably France and Germany. The results of the Paris Exhibition in 1867 and again in 1878 clearly confirmed the once embryonic pattern, and consequently left no room for complacency.[1] With the situation becoming gradullay more desperate the by then almost inevitable strategy - an official investigation of the problem, and a search for a masterplan solution was set under way.

It was Lyon Playfair, a juror at the Paris Exhibition in 1867, who first challenged for such action. Forbidding any further prevarication he called for 'an inquiry which should tell the people of England authoritatively what are the means by which the great states are attaining an intellectual pre-eminence among the industrial classes and how they are making this to bear on the progress of their national industries'.[2] Here was a demand that bore remarkable fruition and one which did not spend itself until a Select Committee of Inquiry and two Royal Commissions were assigned to provide an answer.

The last of these investigations, the Royal Commission on Technical Instruction, under the chairmanship of Bernhard Samuelson, industrialist and M.P., was charged with a dual task. That commission was directed to make a comparative analysis between the technical instruction undertaken by the industrial classes of certain foreign countries and that of their counterparts throughout the United Kingdom. Additionally, the effectiveness of technical instruction facilities in relation to industry and manufactures 'at home and abroad' was to be measured.[3]

Judiciously, the commissioners elected to examine the prevailing conditions in Ireland in accordance with that frame of reference as an issue separate from the remainder of the United Kingdom.

The commissioners arrived in Dublin on 2 June 1883 and apart from being entertained to dinner at Trinity College the following week aroused little public comment or attention.[4] *The Freeman's Journal*, while wishing the commission well, remarked that 'a great deal less interest attaches to their proceedings than if they were a group of travelling Christy Minstrels' and bemoaned the fact that no Irishman ranked among the Commission's members.[5]

Between 4 and 13 June 1883 the commission took evidence at Dublin, Belfast and Cork, while it also visited a number of centres of industrial education. Furthermore, a questionnaire inspired by the Archbishop of Tuam and Dr. McCormack, Bishop of Achonry, inquiring into the means of livelihood, educational facilities and ambitions for an improved system of technical education, was circulated in twenty-six Irish counties in an attempt to augment oral evidence. Opinions were solicited not only from educationalists but industrialists and other interested parties as well, thus bringing to bear upon the deliberations of the commissioners a wideranging and representative sample of viewpoints relative to technical education in Ireland.[6]

The evidence presented to the commission represents a major critique of educational provision in Ireland during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Close scrutiny of that evidence is revealing of a number of persistent themes. It was argued that Ireland, because of her industrially underdeveloped status, must be afforded State support commensurate with her unique underprivileged conditions. The Science and Art Department was singled out for attack as a rigidly centralised institution whose failure to cope with the disparate demands of industrial Ireland was deemed a severe defeat. The failure of the national system of education as a preparatory agent to subsequent technical instruction courses was firmly condemned and the intermediate system of education with its emphasis on a classically oriented curriculum was equally criticised. These inadequacies at the lower educational levels, it was asserted, hampered the prospects of higher level institutions which were endeavouring to promote industrially related courses of study. Industrialists, highlighting their dissatisfaction, related how the dearth of adequately qualified artizans was a critical handicap to industrial development. Finally, the nature and purpose of technical instruction proved a subject of diversified debate.

It was stated in evidence before the commission that among the principal obstacles to the development of technical instruction in Ireland was the absence of an administrative board specifically designed to accommodate the educational needs of the Irish industrial environment. Ireland, because of the heterogeneous character of her many small industries, it was claimed, was not in a position to participate fully in a system of technical and scientific education more immediately designed to meet British industrial requirements.[7] The Science and Art Department, it was argued, was far too centralised an institution to appreciate the unique features of Irish industry. Its recognised courses comprised a selected content too generally conceived to be of specific benefit in Ireland and courses of the London City and Guilds were found to be similarly inappropriate.[8]

If Ireland was to have the benefit of a system of technical and scientific education, a more devolved mode of administration and a more flexible structure were viewed as essential to its prosperity. Consequently,it was proposed that the State play a more direct role in stimulating provisions for technical and scientific education in Ireland. The absence of an industrial tradition and industrial wealth in general made such intervention all the more imperative. It was, therefore, urged that local enterprise and initiative in the establishment of technical and scientific classes should be encouraged and generously assisted by the State. In this way it was hoped that a more dynamic decentralised system of technical and scientific education, geared to peculiar industrial demands, would gradually emerge on a national scale.[9]

That the curriculum of the national system of education in Ireland contributed very little by way of practical value to the future career of its pupils was a concern expressed by a majority of witnesses. Michael Davitt, fresh from Richmond Prison, took the view that the text-books in use in the national schools were of inferior quality when compared with text-books employed in English and American elementary schools. The text-books, he declared, were 'more calculated to produce a taste for indulging in idle dreams and fancies than a desire for practical and scientific knowledge'.[10] Davitt suggested that curricular reform in the national schools was essential to the prospects of a system of technical education. Conceding that it was both difficult and dangerous to attempt to identify a future occupational role for pupils at the elementary school age, Davitt envisaged practical foundation courses, instruction in the general principles of various industries, the use of tools and an elementary programme in mechanics. Subsequent to this, a more specific trade course ought to be pursued.[11]

Davitt's opinions were endorsed by other witnesses. Sir Patrick Keenan, Resident Commissioner of National Education, while defending the record of the national system's text-books agreed that a 'practical orientation' might be given to the curriculum of the national schools. In his view technical instruction of a general theoretical nature might be more advantageously introduced if augmented by a study of the school's local industrial environment. Towards that purpose organised visits to museums, workshops and mills were suggested for pupils attending urban schools, while attendance at agricultural shows and geological and botanical excursions were advised for pupils of an agricultural background. Concluding his evidence, Keenan agreed that every attempt must be made 'to endow children with the knowledge which will especially fit them for the future trades or professions or for domestic or agricultural life'.[12]

It was perhaps the evidence of Harold Rylett, Manager of Moneyrea National School, Co. Down, which most effectively kaleidoscoped many of the reasons why the national system of education failed as a preparatory agent to subsequent technical education courses. Rylett decried the manner in which the Commissioners of National Education insisted that only books issued by their authority be used in national schools.[13] In reprimanding tones he submitted that a system which permitted teachers to select the texts they deemed most appropriate would prove more effective. The absence of that freedom of choice was manifest in the outdated and illsuited texts employed in national schools. It was stated that the commissioners'

Introduction to Practical Farming was far too technical in content for pupils at national school level, and that the text on natural philosophy, first published in 1842, had not been afforded a revised edition in the intervening forty years. As a remedy for these defects Rylett advocated the introduction of elementary science at the fourth class level in national schools and T.H. Huxley's Introductory Primer, published in MacMillan's series of Science Primers, was identified as a text with potential to provide senior grade pupils with a basic knowledge of matters scientific. Agricultural education was in dire need of similar reform and the introduction of text-books more suitable to Irish agricultural conditions was immediately sought.[14]

A further issue relating to the inadequacies of the national system of education frequently referred to during the course of evidence was that of compulsory attendance. A considerable number of witnesses agreed that the country was ripe for the introduction of compulsory attendance at elementary level. It was pointed out, however, that the required legislation on this matter should not seek to institute compulsory attendance measures all at once, but rather on a phased basis. The larger urban centres of Dublin, Belfast and Cork, were recommended as starting points.[15] Pupils from rural areas were more likely to be kept from school when the peak agricultural seasons of Spring and Autumn demanded their energies be devoted to agricultural chores. Consequently, compulsory attendance legislation in such instances would be resisted, or ignored, by parents who depended on this assistance. A modified attendance requirement, therefore, was what ought to be allowed, initially.[16]

The failure of the intermediate system of education to make an impact on technical education also gave general cause for concern. The payment by results system operated by the Intermediate Board was denounced on a number of counts. The allocation of results fees was inequitable. Higher awards were made for success in the classical and literary subjects than in subjects mathematical or scientific. An outcome of this arrangement was that teachers were provided with an incentive to concentrate on a classical and literary syllabus.[17] A more serious consequence of the payment by results system was inferred by Alexander Jack, Professor of Civil Engineering at Queen's College, Cork. He maintained that science teaching and technical instruction should be both inductive and deductive. The results system was a negation of these methods, since it placed principal emphasis on cramming and memorisation. A practical, meaningful understanding of the theoretical and applicative principles of scientific and technical subjects was sacrificed to superficial rote learning.[18]

It was further charged that a majority of intermediate schools did not have the requisite appliances or laboratories essential to the teaching of scientific subjects. Where science was part of a school programme it was taught by part-time science teachers, who were required to supply their own equipment. Few were in a position to meet such demands and consequently the number of teachers available to intermediate schools was severely restricted.[19]

The absence of a commitment to scientific and technical subjects at elementary level and intermediate level impeded progress at higher level institutions and in the industrial sphere in general. The Royal College of Science was restricted in its effectiveness for want of an appropriate preparatory education in Ireland, it was alleged. The average number of students attending day courses at the Royal College was estimated at between 70 and 80. Of that number, only half were Irish students, the remainder coming from England and Scotland. The fact that the college proved attractive to foreign students was deemed evidence of the high standard of its courses in engineering, mining and manufactures.[20] That a similar attractiveness did not prevail for Irish students was traced to a deficiency in the teaching of science at the lower educational levels. It was lamented that:

> ... the students do not get the training at school which attracts their attention to science; the consequence is that the only field which is open to them in after life is a profession such as medicine or law. We see that constantly in Dublin. Dublin is thronged with medical students, but there are very few who enter anywhere for engineering, which is a subject which commands a large number of students in England. 21

A suggested reason for this imbalance was that trade vocations, as opposed to professional vocations, were held in low social esteem in Ireland.

> The general impression is that it is degrading to enter anything which smacks of trade or handi-work and great sacrifices are made to put children to College where they will get what is called a profession. ... a change in the habits and customs of the people is the first step towards altering that state of things and we can only do that by increased primary education and good sense. 22

That the absence of a system of technical education in Ireland retarded the growth of Irish industry was a viewpoint presented to the commission by many industrialists. Industrialists were reticent to initiate new industries or to expand for want of a resource of qualified workers. It was remarked that to establish a new industry a significant outlay of money had to be invested in premises and plant. In Ireland that cost was all the greater in that finance had to be expanded also in the training of a work-force.

Predictably, each industrialist argued the need for technical education as it affected his own circumstances. The ship-building industry in Belfast had to depend on the technical education institutions of Scotland and England for its managers and foremen.[23] In the woollen industry there was a scarcity of master dyers, since no facility existed for instruction in chemical dyeing.[24] Of all the trades adversely affected by the absence of skilled foremen it would seem that few were more neglected than the building trades. Mr. Charles G. Doran disclosed that having secured the contract to build the Roman Catholic Cathedral at Queenstown (modern Cobh) County Cork, he was obliged to train the majority of his work-force in the various skills required to complete the undertaking.[25]

It is readily evident how the demand for technical education in England during the last quarter of the nineteenth century was the subject of protracted controversy regarding the nature and purpose of technical education. From evidence submitted to the Royal Commission in Ireland a similar equivocation may be detected. It is interesting to note also that the stances adopted in Ireland on the question of definition were not too dissimilar to those taken in England. Three convictions may be identified here.

Firstly, there was the view promulgated by John Scott Russell that technical education was a special work-related education. During the course of the commission's inquiry in Ireland a number of witnesses aligned themselves with that view. Mr. John Jaffe, President of the Belfast Chamber of Commerce, urged that the direct teaching of all trades was an essential strategy if Ireland was to keep abreast of industrial progress in other countries.[26] Secondly, one finds endorsement for the views of Philip Magnus who held that industrial conditions should be

101

simulated in technical schools. While it was allowed that models, diagrams, and transparencies contributed to an understanding of the principles of industrial production in schools, there was no substitute for acquaintance with the actual machinery itself. Rev. John Hayde of Upton Reformatory School argued that 'theory is useless for young people; it is better to show the reason by the fact rather than explain the fact to them after giving the reason'.[27] Finally, there was an element of opinion which urged, as did T.H. Huxley, that a general exploratory course in scientific principles should precede the teaching of specific trades. The acquisition of a specific trade, it was held, could be accommodated best in the factory workshop. In the Irish context this preliminary course ought to acquaint students with the underlying scientific principles of some of the country's most prominent industries.[28]

While these views are important for the manner in which they reveal the perceived nature and purpose of technical education in late nineteenth century Ireland, they reflect another significant development. Opinions expressed to the commission in an attempt to define a technical education rationale were but the echo of a debate that was beginning to arrest national attention at an increasing rate. This outgrowth of concern marked an important turning-point in the evolution of technical education in Ireland making manifest a long-felt need and a resolute commitment to its fulfilment.

Turning now to the findings of the Royal Commission we note that the commissioners made a number of recommendations which proved alert to the future growth of technical education in Ireland.

Adverting to a need for a more vigorous commitment to the teaching of science at a popular level, the commission stated that the Royal College of Science ought to play a central role in the preparation of science teachers.[29] It was further advised that the regulations which precluded the lecturers at the college from earning awards under the payment by results scheme of the Science and Art Department be rescinded. That reform, it was felt, would bring the college into the mainstream of activity in relation to evening classes, while at the same time it would favour the evening artizan student with the best teaching expertise available.[30]

Predictably, the commission recommended 'that the Board of Intermediate Education take steps to ensure the provision of adequate means for the practical teaching of Science in the schools under their direction'.[31]

With regard to the national system of education, a diverse range of reforms was recommended. It was declared that a revision of the text-books used in the teaching of 'industrial processes' and 'rudimentary science' warranted immediate attention.[32] Additionally, programmes in drawing, the use of tools and manual work were demanded. To properly facilitate that plan it was proposed that teachers be afforded appropriate courses at the central teacher training institution in Dublin to qualify them for their expanded assignment. One of the principal benefits to be derived from that policy, it was believed, was the reinvigoration of 'home industries' and 'handicrafts'.[33] In respect of agricultural education the commmissioners expressed satisfaction at the achievements of the National Commissioners of Education and yet recommended further development of the agricultural programme.[34]

The immediate outcome of the findings and recommendations of the Royal Commission on Technical Instruction 1881-1884 was the Technical Instruction Act of 1889. This Act applied to Ireland also. Under its provisions, County Councils and Borough Councils were entitled to raise a 1d in the £ rate in aid of technical instruction, control of which was placed in the hands of the Science and Art Department.[35] This new legislative measure would seem to indicate, at first appearance at least, that the long-neglected area of technical instruction had finally achieved worthy recognition.

With regard to Ireland, however, the new legislation was less than effective. While the Local Government (England and Wales) Act of 1888 provided a delineated framework for the raising of a rate and for the local administration of technical education, no such facility as yet existed in Ireland. This administrative vacuum robbed the Act of much of its impact. Some municipal authorities, notably Cork, Belfast, Limerick and Dublin, did avail of the provisions of the Act. In the counties, however, where local authority still resided with the old Boards of Guardians, the proportion of finance that might be raised by rate levy was insufficient to fund schemes of technical instruction.[36]

One other negative feature of the Technical Instruction Act 1889 must be registered. From Ireland's viewpoint the Act failed to grasp the nettle and tackle a long-standing cause of discontent. Since the mid-nineteenth centruy it was consistently argued that the Science and Art Department was far too centralised and detached an institution to accommodate the peculiar needs of local industrial requirements. The Technical Instruction Act 1889 did little to change that policy. By handing over the control of technical instruction to the Science and Art Department the traditional failing remained. For Ireland that policy had acute implications. The nature and structure of the Irish industrial framework, as noted, was uniquely diverse in that few national industries existed and the country's industrial prosperity, such as it was, derived its sustenance from small local industries. In that instance a technical instruction policy that failed to acknowledge the principle of decentralisation as an inherent component of its administrative structure went little way towards meeting Irish requirements. It was observed by one commentator at least that the main issue with regard to a national system of technical instruction for Ireland hinged largely 'on the general question of centralisation or decentralisation' and any detailed discussion beyond that matter would only divert attention from the major priority.[37]

It becomes clear, therefore, that many of the anticipated benefits of the Technical Instruction Act 1889 remained elusive as far as Ireland was concerned. That is not, however, to deny the Royal Commission an influence upon Irish educational reform during the final decade of the nineteenth century. For, its immediate value was to encourage reformers in their endeavours and to provide an authority of considerable prestige to strengthen educational demands. Although the years brought other influences to determine the course of events, the Royal Commission on Technical Instruction 1881-1884 held its place as a reference for reform and its mark can be clearly seen in the Belmore and Palles Commissions as well as in the report of Horace Plunkett's Recess Committee and the work of the Congested Districts Board.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. For further background see M. Argles, "The Royal Commission on Technical Instruction 1881-1884: its inception and composition", *Vocational Aspects of Secondary and Further Education*, (Vol.9, No. 23, 1959), pp.97-104.
2. *Report of the Schools Inquiry Commissioners Relative to Technical Education*: (3898), H.C. 1867, XXIV.261, p.7.
3. *Royal Commission on Technical Instruction*: (C.3171), H.C. 1882 XXVI, p. 3.
4. *Freeman's Journal*, 5 June 1883.
5. *Freeman's Journal*, 6 June 1883.
6. *Royal Commission on Technical Instruction; Further Reports with Evidence and Appendix*; vol.IV, (C.3981), H.C. 1884 XXXI - Part I., Appendix M., p.389.
7. Ibid., (q) 4563.
8. Ibid., (qq) 6671-6699.
9. Ibid., (q) 4563.
10. Ibid., (q) 5093.
11. Ibid., (qq) 5140-5159.
12. *Royal Commission on Technical Instruction; Further Reports with Evidence*: (C.3981), H.C.1884 (q) 5742 (a).
13. Ibid., (q) 6530.
14. Ibid., (q) 6554(a).
15. Ibid., (q) 5679.
16. Ibid., (q) 6554 (a)
17. Ibid., (qq) 5283-5284.
18. Ibid., (q) 6835.
19. Ibid., (qq) 6316-6319.
20. Ibid., (qq) 5190-5201.

21. Ibid., (q) 5225.

22. Ibid., (q) 5230.

23. Ibid., (q) 5256.

24. Ibid., (qq) 5428-5429.

25. Ibid., (q) 4283.

26. Ibid., (q) 5943.

27. Ibid., (q) 7358.

28. Ibid., (q) 6616.

29. *Royal Commission on Technical Instruction; Second Report:* (C.3981), H.C. 1884 XXIX, p.529.

30. Ibid.

31. Ibid., pp. 503 and 539.

32. Ibid., p. 530.

33. Ibid., pp.530-531.

34. Ibid., p.535.

35. George Coffey, "The Proposed Technical Instruction Bill and the Science and Art Department", *Journal of the Statistical and Social Inquiry Society of Ireland.* (Vol.IX., August 1889), pp.403-404.

36. Herbert M. Thompson, "Technical Education in Ireland", *The New Ireland Review*, (vol.1, No.2, 1902),p.1.

37. George Coffey, "The Proposed Technical Instruction Bill", p. 429.

Irish Educational Studies, Vol.3, No.2, 1983.

THE EDUCATIONAL ENDOWMENTS (IRELAND) ACT, 1885, AS PART OF NINETEENTH CENTURY EDUCATIONAL REFORM

Raymond Wilkinson

Educational endowments were grants of land or money permanently settled for an educational purpose. The majority of such endowments in Ireland were of private origin, donated by private benefactors and usually restricted to particular classes or denominations. But some endowments were of a public nature; for example the Ulster Royal School estates were granted by King James I to support schools open to all. The failure of the Government to take any positive interest in educational endowments (save the establishment of a succession of commissioners), and the failure of the Legislature to secure the future of endowments affected by the Irish Church Act, 1869, left such endowments in a confused position by 1880.

Roman Catholic appeals for a redistribution of publicly funded educational endowments had received support from the publication of the 1871 Census figures. The number of intermediate schools had fallen from 729 in 1861 to 574 in 1871, while the number of pupils attending these schools had fallen from 21,674 to 21,225.[1] Notably the decrease in the number of pupils was limited to members of the Church of Ireland, who were in the almost exclusive enjoyment of State endowments.

> The Roman Catholics, wholly dependent upon voluntary effort, and at the same time the least wealthy element of the population have increased the number of pupils receiving intermediate instruction by 2.5 per cent. Non-Episcopal Protestants, almost equally endowed, but better circumstanced

> pecuniarily, show signal increase of 11.9 per cent, while the Episcopal Protestants, whose private means are immeasurably largest, and who have practically the monopoly of State endowments disclose the wonderful decline of 14.5 per cent. 2

In 1874, Lord Emly[3] pointed out that in Irish endowed intermediate schools there were but 2,625 pupils, of which only 108 were Roman Catholics, so that if it were not for unassisted voluntary efforts, 108 would have been the whole number receiving intermediate education out of a Catholic population of over four million.[4] By now it was becoming evident that some measure of reform was essential. The Roman Catholic bishops had asserted the right of the Catholics of Ireland to their due proportion of the public funds hitherto set apart for education in the Royal and other endowed schools.[5] Justice demanded that these funds, insofar as they had been given by the State, should be made available by the legislature for the benefit of the entire nation. Statistical comparisons between the Roman Catholic Schools and the Endowed Grammar Schools had shown that "they who starve on nothing are more vigorous than they who unjustly surfeit on too much."[6]

The framers of the Intermediate Education Act in 1878 avoided any suspicion of directly endowing denominational institutions. Yet the method of endowment in the form of prizes and results fees represented a substantial advance in the support of private denominational schools. The system of examinations and prizes indirectly aided from Roman Catholic schools, "but so indirectly, it seems, as to suffer the consciences of the Protestants of Great Britain to remain at peace."[7] The 1878 Act represented a landmark in the history of relations between the British Government and Irish Catholics in that the Government made no attempt to exercise control over Catholic education or to advance any regulation to which Catholics might object; and by its enactment the Government accepted, in a way unknown for centuries in Ireland, the right of Catholics to have unimpeded access to a form of education reconcilable with their religious beliefs. Addressing the Statistical and Social Inquiry Society of Ireland in May 1872, William Burke had complained of the lack of powers to frame new schemes for the administration of old educational trusts, and to adapt them to changing social needs.[8] In June 1878, apparently unaware of the imminent introduction of the government's intermediate education bill, Lord Randolph Churchill presented a motion in Parliament:

> That a Select Committee be appointed to inquire into the condition, revenues and management of the Endowed Schools of Ireland, with instructions to report how far those endowments are at present promoting or are applicable to the promotion of Intermediate Education in that country without distinction of class or religion. 9

Lowther, who had replaced Hicks-Beach as Chief Secretary in March 1878, persuaded Churchill to withdraw his motion, on the promise that a small Commission would be appointed to inquire into the management of these endowments.[10] Churchill's interest in Irish affairs had developed during his "exile"[11] in Dublin, as private secretary to his father, the Duke of Marlborough, appointed Lord Lieutenant in 1876. On his first day in Dublin Churchill made the acquaintance of Gerald Fitzgibbon, then Law Advisor at Dublin Castle,[12] and their friendship which lasted till Churchill's death, was to have far-reaching effects on Irish education during the decade which followed. During the winter of 1877 Churchill devoted himself, with Fitzgibbon's assistance, to the study of Irish intermediate education, consulting all shades of Irish opinion. On the last day of the year he addressed a letter to the Freeman's Journal[13] on the subject of the Diocesan Schools, and claiming for intermediate education an amount equivalent to that diverted when these schools were abolished by the Irish Church Act.[14] The main result of Churchill's research into the Irish education question issued in December 1877 in the form of a pamphlet, addressed to his friend Sir Bernard Burke, Ulster King-at Arms.[15] It showed, on the evidence of various Royal Commissions, that intermediate education in Ireland was positively declining, yet that a system of intermediate education had existed since the days of Elizabeth, in the shape of the Diocesan Grammar School, the Royal Free Schools, and later private foundations.[16] Churchill expressed wonder that the Kildare Commission Report of 1858 had not been considered by Parliament, and twenty years had elapsed without any attempt at legislative reform.[17] In his pamphlet he proposed to extend the system of Royal Schools and to provide more money out of the Church surplus. The religious difficulty was to be surmounted by appointing lay Roman Catholic masters in Catholic districts and Protestant masters in Protestant districts, with a conscience clause, control by local Boards, and a scholarship system, so as to enable the religious minority in any district to get education elsewhere.[18] Admirable as the plan appeared, it probably underrated the reluctance of the Roman Catholic hierarchy to tolerate education that it did not control. Simultaneously with the establishment of such a school system, Churchill advocated a Royal Commission empowered to inquire into, remodel and redistribute all existing educational endowments.[19] Considering his interest in the Irish education question, Churchill's motion of 4 June 1878 is not surprising, though the Cabinet, anxious to secure a safe passage for the Intermediate Education Bill, must have been worried by his timing. The promise of a small Commission on endowed schools may be seen as an insurance against any interference with the government's intended measure.[20] During the debate on the Second

Reading of the Intermediate Education Bill in the House of Lords, Earl Spencer referred again to the question of endowed schools, pointing out that "additional powers should be given to those bodies in Ireland who were unable to reform themselves," and that "those endowments which did exist ought not to be lost sight of, and a great deal might be done in different localities."[21]

On 3 December 1878 the Duke of Marlborough, the Lord Lieutenant, issued the warrant appointing Commissioners "to inquire into the Endowments, Funds, and Actual Condition of all Schools endowed for the purpose of Education in Ireland."[22] The Earl of Rosse was appointed Chairman, and the Commissioners included both Lord Randolph Churchill and Gerald Fitzgibbon,[23] by now Solicitor-General for Ireland, and soon to become a Lord Justice of Appeal. Their Report on 31 October 1880 pointed to the need for legislation on educational endowments in Ireland. The payment-by-results policy of the Intermediate Board had not silenced Roman Catholic demands for a share in the public intermediate endowments of the Royal Schools.

> The Bishops again appeal to the Government in the name of the Catholics of Ireland to establish equality as to state grants and endowments between Catholic and non-Catholic institutions of higher education; either by disendowing the latter, or by conferring equal endowments on the other. This claim applies chiefly to public endowments still enjoyed by the Queen's Colleges, Trinity College and the Royal Schools.24

Mahaffy in his inspection of endowed grammar schools for the Rosse Commission had found fault with their "wretched system of management" which prevented needful reform and perpetuated inefficient arrangements and incompetent teachers-- "old and wearied men."[25] Arnold Graves, the Secretary to the Commissioners of Education in Ireland, pointed out that the lack of powers of his Board with regard to applications by trustees to frame new schemes for endowed schools resulted in such schools being regulated by the Court of Chancery or the Commissioners of Charitable Donations and Bequests behind the back of the Board especially appointed to regulate them. In the light of the Rosse Commission Report he claimed for the Commissioners of Education in Ireland the same powers as those enjoyed by the English Charity Commissioners with regard to endowed schools.[26] In December 1882 Graves wrote to the Under-Secretary at Dublin Castle drawing the attention of the Lord Lieutenant and the Chief Secretary to the need for some legislation to enable the Commissioners of Education in Ireland to discharge their duties effectively.[27] Significant development in the size of several endowed schools inevitably followed the availability of funds under the 1878 Act,[28] and new schools were being established particularly in large urban areas.[29] Some measure of rationalisation was increasingly seen as necessary. In 1883, under pressure from Trevelyan, the Liberal Chief Secretary, the National Board authorised the payment of grants towards the maintenance of denominational teacher training colleges.[30] The surrender of the Board to episcopal demands on this major issue marked a watershed in the Roman Catholic Church's struggle with the system, and it marked a major step towards the goal of complete denominationalism in education. The Model Schools were often pointed to by English M.Ps, as evidence of the success of mixed education in Ireland, but in 1882 Lord Randolph Churchill denounced these schools as "about the greatest imposture that could be kept up in Ireland."[31] Speaking on the Franchise Bill in May of that year, Churchill expressed the hope that, given the more settled state of Ireland since 1882, the government would "recognise more fully what are the real duties of an English government towards the Irish people" and "to hold out to Ireland the generous hand of fellowship and to sow the seends of reconciliation."[32] The demands from whiting for reform of the endowed school system,and government acceptance that Irish education had become denominational, ensured that legisation on educational endowments could not be long delayed.

In August 1883 Trevelyan gave an undertaking in the House of Commons to consider the whole question of Irish endowed schools,[33] though admitting that any legisation to put things right "must be of a very drastic description."[34] In the early months of 1884 a Bill to Reorganise the Educational Endowments of Ireland was drafted,[35] and care of the Bill was entrusted to Lord Carlingford.[36] The Bill provided for the appointment of three paid Commissioners to prepare drafts of schemes for the future government and management of educational endowments, subject to the approval of the Lord Lieutenant in Council.[37] The Commissioners were to have special regard to making provision for secondary education in public schools.[38] At the Bill's Second Reading in the House of Lords on 4 July Lord Carlingford pointed out the advantages to be gained, including the reform and improvement of both the Royal Schools and the Commissioners of Education in Ireland.[39] "The work of the Intermediate Board,with its comparatively moderate income, must be greatly assisted by the application of some portion of the endowments coming under the scope of the present Bill."[40] The Bill came in for some adverse observations from the Earl of Belmore, one of the Commissioners of Education, but the House did not divide, and the Bill was to be considered in Committee on 14 July.[41] In the meantime the House of Lords threw out the Franchise Bill, and the Liberal government abandoned all the unfinished legislation of the session,[42] the Educational Endowments (Ireland) Bill being withdrawn on 21 July. Towards the end of the year the Under-Secretary, Hamilton, invited the view of the Commissioners of Education in

Ireland on endowment legislation,[43] but, despite their repeated calls for an extension of their powers, and the criticism levelled at them by the succession of nineteenth century temporary commissioners, they restricted themselves to a declaration that any commissioners appointed to regulate educational endowments should be unpaid.[44] In January 1885 Campbell-Bannerman, appointed Chief Secretary the previous October, recommended the early reintroduction of the Bill of 1884 in the House of Lords.[45] Again its passage was entrusted to Lord Carlingford, who was the only speaker on the Bill's Second Reading on 23 March.

> Inquiries of every kind had gone on year after year, or rather generation after generation. . . There was to be no more inquiry. That had been accomplished to excess. The Commission would have power to revise and reform the endowments in the same way as those of England and Scotland had been, and were being, revised and reformed. 46

The Bill passed to the House or Commons without further debate or amendment on 20 April,[47] and was given its First Reading on 12 May.[48] However, in the political crisis of June 1885 the Bill was practically abandoned.[49] In that month a combination of Conservatives and Parnellites defeated the staggering Liberal government on a question of increased duties on beer and spirits.[50]

The new government's Irish programme was agreed in Cabinet on 4 July, and did not include the Endowments Bill.[51] Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer, explained that few uncontentious legislative projects which the Government would try to carry through before winding up the business of the session, and in this he received the concurrence of Gladstone.[52] It occurred, however, to Fitzgibbon, who had followed the subject of endowment reform with interest since the Rosse Commission of 1879-80, that the abandoned Liberal Bill could be so altered as to become a useful measure. He wrote to Hugh Holmes, his successor as Solicitor-General, and now Attorney-General and M.P. for Dublin University,[53] and to Lord Randolph Churchill, but received no encouragement.[54] On the morning of 7 August Fitzgibbon arrived in London, and while breakfasting with Churchill developed and enforced his views.[55] Having secured the agreement of Hicks-Beach to the measure, provided that the session was not prolonged, and the agreement of Holmes to undertake its conduct in the House of Commons, Fitzgibbon set to redrafting the Bill.

> During one of the hottest days in the year Cullinan our draftsman and he with their coats off worked at the amendments, which in the evening were ready for the printer. [56]

The Bill stood no chance without the concurrence of the Irish nationalists, and Fitzgibbon undertook to negotiate with Thomas Sexton, M.P. for Sligo. A meeting either in the Irish Office or in the M.P.'s lodgings seemed inappropriate, so "they were brought together by the medium of a cabman."[57] The regular Liberal opposition, represented by Samuel Walker,[58] was conciliated by a promise to make one of his constituents an Assistant Commissioner. Perhaps the most amusing incident was the indignation expressed by Sir William Hart-Dyke, the Chief Secretary.

> He had been, he said, a whip for twelve years familiar with all the traditions of the house; and it was not playing the game to enter upon important legislation the last week of the session. He would therefore wash his hands of it. [59]

Fitzgibbon's amendments, as moved by Holmes, for the purpose of altering the original Bill into its new shape, covered pages of the parliamentary order book, and were unintelligible to all save Sexton and Holmes, and it is doubtful if even they fully understood them.[60] Not one of the members of the new Government had read a line of the Bill.[61] On 12 August Holmes and Sexton, in a remarkable parliamentary double-act, steered the Bill through the Committee stage.[62] On the following day the Bill passed the remaining stages, and received the Royal Assent on 14 August, the day parliament was prorogued.[63]

The Act came into force on 1 October 1885.[64] Five Commissioners were appointed to the Educational Endowments (Ireland) Commission.[65] The two Judicial Commissioners were named in the Act, Fitzgibbon himself, and Rt.Hon. John Naish, Lord Chancellor of Ireland in Gladstone's Ministry from May till June 1885, and the second Roman Catholic Chancellor since the Reformation.[66] The Assistant Commissioners, "persons of experience in education",[67] were appointed by the Lord Lieutenant on 25 September 1885--Rt. Rev. Monsignor Gerald Molloy, Rector of the Catholic University, Anthony Traill, Esq., Professor of Medicine in Trinity College Dublin, and Rev. James Brown Dougherty, Professor of Logic in Magee College, Londonderry. The Act laid down lengthy procedures before any scheme drawn up by the Commissioners could receive statutory authority, by the approval of the Lord Lieutenant in Council.[68] A minimum of six months had to elapse between the first publication of a draft scheme by the Commissioners and its final approval by the Lord Lieutenant, during which time objections from interested parties could be raised at various stages.[69] Provision was made for future alterations to schemes by the Commissioners of Charitable Donations and Bequests for Ireland.[70] A number of endowments were excluded specifically from the application of the Act--those relating to Trinity College Dublin or the University of Dublin; those applied solely to theological instruction; those wholly or partly applied to charitable or non-educational purposes; those consisting of voluntary subscriptions; and those exclusively for the benefit of, and under the exclusive control of, persons of any particular denomination. These latter denominational endowments could be brought within the scope of the Act only by the written consent of the respective governing bodies.[71] These exceptions led the Commissioners to comment in their First Annual Report to the Lord Lieutenant in October 1886, that

> . . . although the endowments coming within the scope of our Commission may seem large in the aggregate, we are satisfied from the inquiries we have already held that by far the greater number of these endowments, including some of the most valuable, are of private origin, and are limited by the intentions of the founders to particular classes of the population. . . . we have therefore reason to fear that the expectations generaly raised will be in a great measure disappointed, and that the provision of intermediate education in Ireland will remain very imperfect . . . [72]

In fact of the 210 schemes submitted to the Lord Lieutenant by December 1894, covering 1,350 primary schools, 80 separate intermediate schools, and 22 collegiate and other institutions, only three schemes dealt with endowments for intermediate education derived from public sources.[73]

During a conversation with Sir Patrick Keenan in October, 1885, Lord Carlingford came to the conclusion that the Fitzgibbon amendments enacted in the Educational Endowments (Ireland) Act were framed in Protestant interests.[74] In the autumn the Act had nearly become a dead letter because the Roman Catholic hierarchy, like Carlingford, took it to have a Protestant bias. Dr.Walsh, the newly-appointed Archbishop of Dublin,[75] protested against the composition of the Commission.

> Three of the five Commissioners are to be non-Catholics, and we, the Catholics of Ireland, we the representatives of the

> interests of the vast majority of the successful Intermediate Schools of the country are to be in a minority of two. Is this equality? Is this fair play? 76

Of the two Catholic members of the Commission, Naish belonged to the "official circle" and was regarded as a Castle Catholic.[77] Molloy, though possessing the confidence of the bishops in matters of education, was regarded by Dr. Croke as an "unmitigated Whig, and a jump Jim Crow man in politics."[78] He was "a genial soul, as fit to cope with the chairman, Lord Justice Fitzgibbon, as a shrimp with a shark."[79] The appointment of one Protestant and one Roman Catholic Judicial Commissioner was designed to ensure the protection of denominational interests. As both Judicial Commissioners had to agree before a scheme was signed, the Catholic Commissioner could veto any reform of endowments of which he did not approve. However, as many endowments had already passed into Protestant hands, the denominational balance between the Judicial Commissioners might not effect the equable redistribution of endowments.

> . . . if the Catholic Commissioner can veto the Protestant scheme, the latter can veto the Catholic scheme, and if the scheme is vetoed the endowment remains with the Protestants. 80

On 7 October the Hierarchy called on the government to reconsider the constitution of the Commission so as to give Roman Catholics their due proportion of representation thereon, and that if no action was taken the two Roman Catholic Commissioners should resign.[81] Archbishop Croke wrote on 29 October recommending Molloy's resignation, but owing to the strong persuasion of Lord Carnarvon, the Lord Lieutenant, who informed [illegible] that he would leave the Cabinet if justice was not done to Ireland, especially in matters of education, the question of Molloy's resignation was deferred.[82] A letter from Churchill emphasising the pro-Catholic implications of Conservative policy on Irish education further served to iron out the difficulties.[83] Despite, or perhaps because of, the lack of strong government support for the Educational Endowments Act-- a lawyer-made law, -an immense amount of administrative, legal and financial tidying-up in the Irish educational sphere was to be accomplished by the relatively short-lived Commission which it established.

The Educational Endowments (Ireland) Act, 1885,[84] provided for the making and approving of schemes up to 31 December 1888, but was ultimately continued till 31 March 1893.[85] By the power vested in the Lord Lieutenant by the 1885 Act the powers of the Commissioners with regard to specified endowments could be extended, and the Commission was not finally wound up until 25 April 1898.[86] 219 draft schemes were published by the Commissioners, of which nine were not proceeded with,[87] so that by the date of the Commission's Final Report on 18 December 1894, 210 schemes had been signed by the Judicial Commissioners and submitted to the Lord Lieutenant.[88] These 210 schemes covered some 1,450 separate schools, and involved an annual value to the endowments, including school premises and income from lands and funds of £67,305. To this was added a further £73,601 from fees, suscriptions and other sources, leaving a total annual value of the monies dealt with by the Commission of £140,906.[89] The total cost of the Commission to the Treasury was £32,507, less than half a year's income of the endowments dealt with, while a mere £330 was chargeable to the Endowments for the cost of publishing schemes.[90]

The Scheme for the settlement of the Ulster Royal Schools Endowment was the single most important responsibility of the Commission. As early as 1887 this was recognised by the Commissioners - "probably the most important and difficult part of our duty."[91] Prior to the Educational Endowments Act the Royal Schools had been in a state of decline, attributable to the management difficulties and lack of powers commented on by the succession of nineteenth century commissions, but also to the fear that the disestablishment of the Irish Church in 1869 was to be followed by the large scale disendowment of the Royal Schools, and the uncertainty regarding legislation on endowment reform.[92] Previous to the Scheme, the endowments were applied exclusively to the five Ulster Royal Schools, but the Commissioners of Education in Ireland, other than a power of visitation, had no means by examination or inspection to test their educational efficiency. The object of the 1885 Act was to extend the usefulness of educational endowments, and the Scheme promoted this, so far as the Ulster Royal School Endowment was concerned, by providing for the maintenance, in defined districts, of at least two schools, and the establishment in each district of two local Boards of Education--one Protestant and one Roman Catholic--each to manage and control its own school. Further, the Scheme provided for the inspection of schools, and required that each school should satisfy certain conditions of equipment and suitability as well as educational efficiency. The principle of local control of intermedaite education was established by the Endowments Commission. Control was taken out of the hands of large Boards of unpaid Commissioners in Dublin and placed in the hands of Governing Bodies "taking an active interest in the success of the institution, and enjoying ample opportunities for personal influence and personal observation." In the local Boards of Education, established under the Ulster Royal Schools Scheme, Roman Catholics were able to participate in the benefits of a public endowment, while retaining control in a local Roman Catholic Board. The inquiries of the Endowments Commissioners with regard to the Ulster Royal Schools confirmed their belief that the financial provision for Intermediate education in Ireland was wholly inadequate, and bore no relation to the provision for university and primary education.[93] While the Commissioners approved of the extra funds at the disposal of the Intermediate Education Board (and of the schools from results fees), by the terms of the Local Taxation (Customs and Excise) Act, 1890,[94] they pointed out that results fees

> do not supply the place of Endowments, nor furnish the means of establishing schools where none already exist, or of acquiring the plant and appliances which are necessary before any school can become efficient . . . But a moderate amount of money applied, as in the case of the Ulster Royal Schools, for the benefit of defined localities, under the control of a central body and with an efficient system of inspection, would afford valuable assistance to many struggling institutions, give a large impulse to Intermediate Education in Ireland, and open the advantages of Higher Education to the best pupils of the Primary Schools in places where they have now no means of obtaining advanced teaching. 95

The Educational Endowments (Ireland) Act, 1885, was a wise and reasonable piece of legislation in which an attempt was made to give as much freedom as possible to those already in control of schools, to avoid undue interference with established rights and vested interests, and to ensure that any reorganisation should not violate the spirit of the founder's intentions. In making their recommendations the Commissioners were to have regard to the merits of all those eligible for the benefits of the endowments and to make provision for extending the endowments for the greater benefit of the people. The Endowments Commission worked with a small staff of a Secretary and a few clerks, and sat frequently both in public, where interested parties often stated their case with vigour, and in private. It usually met in Dublin, but it held sittings throughout the country. The real value of the work of the Commission lies in the fact that there were many schools in Ireland which, before the Commissioners initiated vital changes in their organisation, were in a very backward state. It is unlikely that schools such as the Royal Schools would have long survived had the Commission never sat. For the century from 1791 to 1891 no endowment of public origin (excluding aid from the National Board after 1831, the results fees paid by the Intermediate Board, and the Maynooth Grant) was enjoyed exclusively or to any large extent by Roman Catholics in the matter of education. The Ulster Royal Schools Scheme established the Roman Catholic Church as a full partner in the enjoyment of public funds. The establishment of the Educational Endowments (Ireland) Commission was part of a movement throughout the United Kingdom to reorganise endowments, but in Ireland was linked to both Liberal and Conservative attempts to redress Irish grievances. Schemes drawn up by the Commission had the force of law--indeed many such schemes still have statutory existence--and showed a preference for local rather than central control. The Commission's investigations raised many issues--the extent of Church and State involvement in education, the funding of intermediate schools, and the importance of local support. The resolution of these issues left Irish intermediate schools by the close of the nineteenty century as independent, locally managed, denominational institutions.

REFERENCES

1. *Census of Ireland 1871, General Report*, H.C. 1876 (c.1377), LXXXI, 170.
2. Ibid.
3. Formerly William Monsell, M.P.
4. Rt.Hon. Lord Emly, "Address at the Opening of the Twenty-Eight Session," *Journal of the Statistical and Social Inquiry Society of Ireland*. VI (November 1874), pp.361-62.
5. *Resolutions adopted by the Roman Catholic Archbishops and Bishops on 18 August 1869, at Maynooth*. H.C. 1873 (78.), LII. 277.
6. E. Howley, *The Universities and Secondary Schools of Ireland*. (Dublin: Kelly, 1871), p.99.
7. M. Arnold, "Irish Grammar Schools", *Fortnightly Review*, 30, (August 1881), p. 139.
8. W.G. Brooke, "Educational Endowments and their application to the Middle Classes and Higher Education of Girls and Women," *Journal of the Statistical and Social Inquiry Society of Ireland*, VI (May 1872), p.118.
9. *Hansard*, 240 (1878): 1216-17.
10. Hansard, 240 (1878): 1234-36.
11. Lord Randolph had become involved in a major social quarrel involving his elder brother and the Prince of Wales, and it was felt by the Prime Minister, Disraeli, that the matter would be more quickly resolved in Lord Randolph's absence.
12. W.S.Churchill, *Lord Randolph Churchill*. (London: Odhams Press, 1951), pp.71-72.
13. *Freeman's Journal*, 31 December 1877.
14. 32 and 33 Victoria, c.42.
15. Lord Randolph Churchill, *Intermediate Education in Ireland*. (Dublin: J.Charles & Co., 1878).
16. Ibid., p. 5.
17. Ibid., p. 4.

18. Ibid., pp.18-20.

19. Ibid., p.19.

20. See *Hansard*, 240 (1878):1234-46.

21. *Hansard*, 241 (1878): 439-40.

22. *Report of the Endowed Schools Commission* (Rosse), H.C.1881 (c.2831), XXXV.5 (hereinafter referred to as *Rosse Report*).

23. The other members of the Commission were Richard O'Shaughnessy, M.P.; William Wilson, M.P., who died in November 1879; Andrew Searle Hart, LL.D., Vice-Provost of Trinity College Dublin; and Arthur Hill Curtis, LL.D., Professor of Natural Philosophy, Queen's College Galway. *Rosse Report*, p.5.

24. "Resolutions of the Irish Bishops assembled at Maynooth, on 28 September 1881, "*Irish Ecclesiastical Record,* 3rd Series, II (October 1881), p.630.

25. M. Arnold, "Irish Grammar Schools," *Fortnightly Review*, 30. (August 1881), p. 141.

26. A.F. Graves, "On the reorganisation of Irish Education Departments and the appointment of a Minister of Education," *Journal of the Statistical and Social Inquiry Society of Ireland*, VIII, (August 1882), p.355.

27. Chief Secretary's Office Registered Papers, State Paper Office, Dublin Castle (hereinafter referred to as CSORP) 1882/46773.

28. *The Intermediate Education (Ireland) Act*.

29. M. Hurley, ed., *Irish Anglicanism 1869-1969.* (Dublin: Allen Figgis, 1970), p.56.

30. P.J. Walsh, *William J. Walsh, Archbishop of Dublin*. (London: Longmans Green, 1928), p.464.

31. Ibid. p.462.

32. H.W. Lucy, ed., *Speeches of Lord Randolph Churchill*. (London: Routledge, 1885), p.105.

33. *Hansard*, 282 (1883):2083.

34. Hansard, 283 (1883):1054.

35. CSORP 1885/1411.

36. Ibid. Lord Carlingford was formerly C.S.P. Fortescue, Chief Secretary 1865-66 and 1868-71.

37. Draft of a Bill to Reorganize the Educational Endowments of Ireland, sections 4, 5 and 30. CSORP 1885/1411.

38. Ibid., section 6.

39. Hansard, 290 (1884): 16.

40. Hansard, 290 (1884): 17.

41. Hansard, 290 (1884): 19.

42. CSORP 1884/27253 in 1885/1411.

43. CSORP 1884/26544.

44. CSORP 1885/1411. See also Report of the Commissioners of Education in Ireland for 1884-85. H C. 1884-85 (c.4509.) XXIV.3.

45. CSORP 1885/1411.

46. Hansard, 296 (1885): 208.

47. Hansard, 297 (1885): 1.

48. W.S. Churchill, Lord Randolph Churchill, p.333.

49. Ibid.

50. R. Shannon, The Crisis of Imperialism 1865-1915. (St. Albans: Padadin, 1976), p.187.

51. A.B. Cooke and J.R. Vincent, "Ireland and Party Politics 1885-87, an unpublished conservative memoir," Irish Historical Studies XVI, No.62. (September 1968), p.158 fn.8 (hereinafter referred to as Cooke and Vincent, "Ireland and Party Politics 1885-87.")

52. W.S. Churchill, Lord Randolph Churchill, p.332.

53. The seat was vacated by Edward Gibson, created Lord Ashbourne, and appointed Lord Chancellor of Ireland under the new Conservative Administration. See F.E. Ball, The Judges of Ireland 1221-1921. 2 vols. (London: Murray, 1926), p.373.

54. Cooke and Vincent, "Ireland and Party Politics, 1885-87", p.161.

55. Ibid.

56. Ibid.

57. Ibid.

58. M.P. for Londonderry County, and Liberal Attorney-Generaly for Ireland from December 1883 to the fall of Gladstone's ministry.

59. Cooke and Vincent, "Ireland and Party Politics 1885-87," p.161.

60. Ibid., p/162.

61. W.S. Churchill, *Lord Randolph Churchill*, p.333.

62. *Hansard*, 300 (1885): 1894-1913.

63. *Hansard*, 301 (1885): 8, 30.

64. 48 and 49 Victoria, c.78.

65. Ibid., section IV.

66. Naish was again Lord Chancellor during Gladstone's brief ministry from February to June 1886.

67. 48 and 49 Victoria, c.78, section IV.

68. Ibid., sections XIX-XXXII.

69. Ibid.

70. Ibid., section XVIII.

71. Ibid., section VII.

72. *Educational Endowments (Ireland) Commission*, (hereinafter referred to as *Endowments Commission*), First Annual Report. H.C. 1886 (c.4903.)XXVI. 98.

73. Scheme No. 19, Monaghan Collegiate School; Scheme No. 34. The Ulster Royal School Endowments; and Scheme No.90, the Diocesan School and Banagher Royal School Endowments.

74. A.B. Cooke and J.R. Vincent, *Lord Carlingford's Journal: reflections of a Cabinet Minister, 1885*. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1971), pp.137-38, (hereinafter referred to as Cooke and Vincent), *Lord Carlingford's Journal)*.

75. T.M. Healy, Letters and Leaders of My Day, 2 vols. (London: Butterworth, 1928), Vol.I, pp.227-28.

76. P.J.Walsh, William J. Walsh, Archbishop of Dublin. (London: Longmans Green, 1928), p.510.

77. Ibid.

78. Ibid.

79. T.M. Healy, Letters and Leaders of My Day, Vol.I, p.235.

80. P.J. Walsh, William J. Walsh, Archbishop of Dublin, p.511. See fn.87 below regarding the Erasmus Smith Endowment.

81. P.J. Walsh, William J. Walsh, Archbishop of Dublin, p.512.

82. Ibid., pp.512-13.

83. Cooke and Vincent, Lord Carlingford's Journal, P.138, fn.3.

84. 48 and 49 Victoria, x.78, section XXXVIII.

85. 54 and 55 Victoria, c.60.

86. Letter Book of the Educational Endowments (Ireland) Commission, Box 16, Papers of the Endowed Schools Commission 1879-81, State Paper Office, Dublin Castle.

87. Including Scheme No. 144 for the Erasmus Smith Endowments, about which the Judicial Commissioners, Lord Justice Fitzgibbon and Mr.Justice O'Brien were unable to agree. Mr. Justice O'Brien succeeded Lord Justice Naish in 1890 when the latter resigned from the Commission due to ill-health.

88. Endowments Commission, Final Report, H.C. 1894 (c.7517). XXX Part I. 472.

89. Ibid., p. 491.

90. Ibid., p. 472.

91. Endowments Commission, Second Annual Report, H.C.1887 (c.5232). XXXI. 91.

92. Report of the Commissioners of Education in Ireland for 1885-86. H.C. 1886 (c.4799). XXVI.3.

93. Endowments Commission, Third Annual Report, H.C. 1888 (c.5546), XXXIX. 101.

94. 53 and 54 Victoria, c.60, section III (ii).

95. Endowments Commission, Sixth Annual Report, H.C. 1890-91 (c.6544). XXVIII. 97.

129

Irish Educational Studies, Vol.3, No.2, 1983.

HENRY EDWARD ARMSTRONG, (1848 - 1937), AND EXPERIMENTAL SCIENCE IN SCHOOLS

Gerry Beggan

In the face of social revolution in Europe dating from the mid-nineteenth century it was clear that education could not continue in its historic forms. As a consequence, real differences in the philosophy of education emerged, and educational controversy heightened. Among the revolutionary forces, particularly in the context of education in England, were persons such as Spencer and Huxley, advocates of curriculum content selected chiefly to sustain and improve the existing material society. In the content of any curriculum which took such forces into account science would figure prominently. On the other hand classics, the characteristic feature of Intermediate school curriculum, would lose ground further, and so, expectedly, classicists constituted the main reactionary force.

In England, down to the middle of the nineteenth century science was the veritable Cinderella of the school curriculum. Although as a discipline science was making headway, science teachers were few, and those few were engaged in fighting down opposition to the progress of science in the schools. Even late in the century few schools had laboratories, and such science teaching as was done was usually done at the demonstration table.

Perhaps the most important man in the world of science teaching during the late eighties and nineties was Dr. H.E. Armstrong, Professor of Chemistry at the City and Guilds Institute, South Kensington.[1] Born in 1848, Armstrong developed an interest in education early in his career which was to continue until his death in his ninetieth year, and was, for a period of time, to influence profoundly the course of science education in Ireland.[2]

Armstrong left school at the age of 16 years, and later in life liked to inform his readers that while at school such subjects as Latin, Mathematics, History and Geography glanced off him like water from a duck's back, because he could take no interest in them as they were taught. As no very definite habits of thought were impressed on him while at school his mind was therefore left free to develop, and therefore he greatly valued the ignorance in which he left school. Having left school, and apparently for no particular reason, he entered the Royal College of Chemistry in Oxford Street, London, and then "just slid into chemistry", though according to accounts, he interspersed his lectures there with frequent visits to a nearby hospital to observe happenings in its operating theatre. After two years he took up employment as a research assistant, working on water pollution, and shortly after that, following the custom of the period, went to Germany to pursue further studies and took a Ph.D. from Leipzig at the age of 21.

On returning to London he took up an appointment with London City and Guilds, organising classes in chemistry and physics, and establishing local schools for artisans and workmen.[3] But the adolescent boys who were sent to him to learn chemistry were so badly grounded in elementary science and had such little knowledge of methodological procedure that he was given to making bitter complaints about the ineffectiveness of science teaching in the schools whence they came. While working with medical students, but without previous training as a teacher, he taught himself how to teach them chemistry, and, aided by that effort, developed a system of laboratory training to name which he revived the term "heuristic". In his own words this method was "nothing more than a method of gaining knowledge by experience - by enquiry, by observation, by trial - reduced to system and formalised". He then took a leading part in the promotion of this hueristic approach to science teaching in schools. More than anywhere else, in Christ's Hospital School, London, where he became a Governor in 1896, he was afforded the opportunity to put his methods into practice.

Acutely aware that he was living in a world in which the harnessing of steam and electricity had vastly changed the conditions under which the work of the world was being carried out, Armstrong saw a need to construct satisfactory educational programmes suited to the new circumstances. Failure to change would give technological dominance to other countries, particularly to America, he warned, and he foresaw in the Boer War the disintegration of the British Empire unless Army education became much more scientific. And in the longer term he foresaw an energy crisis resulting from the inefficient use of natural resources.

Critical not only of the prevailing science programmes in schools, but of education generally, he dismissed "the educational bread" which had been offered since the Education Act, 1870, as "little more than stone", and decried the fact that, even as late as 1891, modern subjects, especially experimental science, had as yet barely obtained a foothold in the schools. Mathematical and literary education were still regarded as the back-bone of education. All but very few educationists disregarded what he called "practical arts".[4]

Armstrong attributed the retardation of progress in science to various causes. Those in control of the education system he branded as amateurs, and advocated a scientific approach to programme formulation. State intervention would be required in order to bring about change. The ancient universities he described as classical trade unions which controlled the schools, and these latter were too much in the hands of men impractical by habit and trained in dogmatic beliefs. They were least acquainted with science, and so a one-sided devotion to humanistic studies had induced an attitude of blindness and irreverence towards natural objects and phenomena. Consequently, education had had little reference to the wants of the world. Until practical men and women were out in charge of the schools little progress could be made. Meanwhile, the nation's youth were allowed to grow up as literary men. Parliament was full of literary men. Even the Press, he charged, was a purely literary organisation.

Armstrong proclaimed that a new intellectual order was arising, scientists and engineers, and that the classes which formerly stood out as cultured were falling behind. The average handicraftman was not, he insisted, in any way inferior to the average scribe or scholar - but quite the contrary. Yet, in the schools students heard nothing of great engineers or scientists, but were still forced to concentrate on "pious Aeneas and on Caesar". Latin, he felt (1910), was taught, not because of its linguistic value,but on social grounds. Like turned-up trousers Latin was supposed to mark the gentleman. The relative value of Latin as an educational subject was, he stated, grossly exaggerated. Those who dwelt on its merits were rarely conversant with other subjects to a sufficient extent to be able to appreciate the effects these would produce if equally well taught. The most capable teachers were chosen to teach Latin to the most capable boys, but the time of the majority was wasted studying Latin. By contrast, only those who failed the classical side were, he asserted, given a chance to do science. At best the Headmasters who admitted the science teacher into their schools did so because they saw he was getting into fashion, but they had no sympathy with his work. So he proceeded as he pleased, and taught as though the boys under him were going to be chemists or physicists.

A more serious charge levied by him against classical studies was that they tended, above all others, to create in the mind of the learner a belief - an almost blind belief - in precedent and authority. In a classics lesson the first question to arise, he asserted, was "what is the rule?", and the thought never occurred that there may be a new rule to be discovered. Thus classics educated the student to keep rules rather than to make them.

Armstrong could not accept that literary and mathematical studies were sufficient preparation in the great majority of cases for the work of the world - they developed introspective habits too exclusively. The literary side ought not be disregarded however - in fact it should receive far more care and attention - but one ought recognise that it was only one side. Three classes of studies claimed consideration - literary, mathematical, and practical. Practical studies included experimental science, manual work, drawing and physical exercises. However complete a course of literary and mathematical studies might be, they could not educate, he claimed, "that side of the human brain which was instrumental in building up science and applying it to industry - the USE OF EYES AND HANDS".[4] Advancing Kingsley's view that the first thing for a boy to learn after obedience and morality was the habit of observation, he adamantly held that the use of eyes and hands, and what he termed "scientific method", could not be taught by means of the blackboard and chalk, or even by experimental lectures and demonstrations alone. Individual eyes and hands should be practised actually and persistently, from the very earliest period in the school career.

Armstrong scorned the prevailing use of text-books in schools. He deemed learning from books and teachers to be a lazy and ineffective method of learning, and exclusive resort to such methods corrupted the scholar at an early age. He alleged that modern boys and girls were made absolutely dependent on their teachers and on books. The modern primer he described as "the creation of the enemy". "The curse of books is upon us" he warned, "for books are a curse when used to train parrots". "Real books, readable books, informing books are scarcly to be found in the schools". He considered that textbooks were not readable, in fact they spoiled reading, and afforded no assistance in reading "the great book of Nature."

Despite this ban which he would put on textbooks, Armstrong advocated not just the teaching of the three R's but the teaching of the four R's, reading, writing, arithmetic and reasoning. Reading should be concerned not only with the reading of print, but also with the reading of Nature, and experimental science elements should accompany reading. Students should be taught to use books as sources of information and should be referred to dictionaries and works of information generally. Use of textbooks should be avoided in order that that which should be elicited by experiment would not be previously known, and merely demonstrated, the great object in view being the acquisition of the art of experimenting and observing with a clearly-defined and logical purpose.

Writing should include composition, and composition should be taught in connection with experimental work. A record of what was being done should be written down while the work was being done. Indeed, Armstrong envisaged that each scholar would be the author of his own personal book in this way. The information in that book would have been gained by the scholar himself by inquiry, and would not have been imparted to him by others.

Drawing also should be included in the second R. Arithmetic would embrace not only the usual topics in that subject, but mathematics, and especially measurement work. Weighing, measuring and comparing were among the chief activities in experimental science. Such experimental studies were judged to be highly conducive to the formation of morals, and, as a means of developing character were deemed unquestionably superior to any provided by the other subjects of the school curriculum. Indeed the balance was an instrument, the use of which would be regarded in all schools as an extraordinary potent means of effecting moral culture.

In an article written in 1895 on 'Science Teaching in Schools in Agricultural Districts'[5] Armstrong outlined subject priorities to be the mechanical arts of reading, writing and working elementary problems in arithmetic. Next in order should come effective training in the nature and use of scientific method. But spelling, grammar, history, geography and similar subjects could, he stated, be safely relegated to very secondary positions in the programme. First among educational aims must be the encouragement of the growth of the spirit of inquiry and research.

When giving a title to his book The Teaching of Scientific Method Armstrong was purposeful in his choice of words. He deliberately drew a distinction between science teaching and the teaching of scientific method. It was the teaching of scientific method, and not of any particular branch of science, which he advocated, and he attributed the retardation of educational progress to the absence of a proper distinction between these two things.

With the objects of putting thinking heads on the shoulders of the rising generation he advocated that all education should be made scientific. In this connection he categorised as scientific any education which taught exact knowledge.

Armstrong would not countenance the science specialist drafting school programmes, nor would he advise the teaching of early school science as separate subjects - a practice which he always opposed and which would, he feared, lead to intellectual pygmies and a lack of general culture. He would however envisage elements of astronomy, botany, chemistry, geology, mechanics, physics, physiology and zoology in programmes. He seemed to have no preference as to sequence among these, though he did state that he himself would begin with botany. He admitted that few teachers would be adequately prepared for such work, and it seems doubtful that he could ever envisage women suited to the task. A woman's lack of originality was, he once wrote, the most fatal blot on the woman as a teacher. And he warned that it would be a suicidal policy to place education in her hands anymore than could be helped. Even co-educational schools which at the time (1910) were sweeping the United States were, in his judgement, a threat and an evil, and would lead to the effeminisation of all who would submit to them.

To permit the teaching of experimental science or scientific method the future design of schools should be altered to give more workshop accommodation and less classrooms. In fact he would convert nearly all classrooms into workrooms or workshops, de-emphasising lessons and dispensing with timetables. He viewed the two or three hours per week given to workshop at the time as altogether inadequate and would have students spend every afternoon and several mornings per week in them, also substituting workshop for excessive amounts of homework.

Specific tasks would be set in the form of problems which each child would work out experimentally in the workshop. The teacher would move through the class, acting as foreman, aiding each pupil to accomplish the alotted task, and caring little to ascertain what they knew, but making every effort to lead each to do something. Armstrong would give little attention to knowledge, and stated that the knowledge idol would have to be deposed, and the knowledge caste removed from its position of predominance. The function of the school of the future would be to develop knowingness, not to inculcate knowledge. One consequence of breaking down the knowledge idol would be, he forecast, that we would cease to be slaves of a rigid time-table. Though knowledge, he agreed, was power, power was only in that knowledge which was got by observation.

Armstrong entertained a deep disaffection for examinations, declaring that they retarded rather than favoured improved teaching methods, their effect on the student being to make self-help impossible. When he became professor at the City and Guilds Institute he determined to have nothing to do with teaching for examinations. "The programmes here" he once boasted, "have never been disfigured by references to examinations as objects to be kept in view by students". He held the view that too much dependence on examinations would be likely to lead to the selection of what he termed "clerical" rather than practical ability, and he showed sympathy for the substitution of inspection entirely for examinations in the elementary stage.

Written examinations were however to be a major cause of the downfall of Armstrong's methods. The 1902 Education Act which established Local Education Authorities in England encouraged the expansion of secondary education, and one of its by-products was the increase in numbers of pupils taking a wide variety of examinations especially at age 14 or 15.[6] By 1909 there was a felt need for some national guidelines for examinations to be laid down, and although these took effect only from 1917 onwards when the Board of Education issued major recommendations in this regard, Christ's Hospital School was, in 1908, obliged by the Board to adopt the School Certificate Examination as a criterion of efficiency. In consequence the heuristic methods of teaching, nurtured by Armstrong, had to be modified to meet the requirements of the examination syllabus. Most likely it was to this set-back he was alluding when, in the Preface to the 1910 edition of his book he wrote that "our cause has suffered repression rather than encouragement". Was it not ironical that a man who looked impatiently to State interference to put education on a scientific bases was to be an early victim of the power of that same State?

The decline in popularity of Armstrong's methods cannot however be explained solely by the demands of State-imposed examinations. The man himself generated opposition by his deliberate attempts to stir up controversy. Nor could the curiously narrow pedagogical creed which he expounded escape the criticisms either of reactionaries or of those who believed with a fervour equal to his own that the art of teaching could never be reduced to any stereotyped procedure based on a few simple precepts or canons. And yet, even though some of his students yielded to his methods only reluctantly, Armstrong's success as a teacher cannot be denied. To what could this have been due?

Writing in 1929 when heuristic methods of science teaching in England had given way to a happier combination of demonstration-table and laboratory training, a former member of His Majesty's Inspectorate, F.W.Westaway, expounding a freer and more individualistic approach to methodology, stated, in regard to the heuristic method:

> Progress is inordinately slow, even with exceptional teachers. Far too little ground is covered in a term. The work attempted is confined almost entirely to physics and chemistry, and boys get a wrong idea of science as a whole, or, for that matter, of physics and chemistry as a whole. The succession of exercises is rarely planned to fit into a general scheme for building up a subject completely; bits of a subject are chosen just because they lend themselves to the particular type of training. Time is wasted over experiments that are beyond the pupil's skill and ought to be performed by the teacher. The whole method tends to be spoiled by its background of false perspective. ... A boy never "discovers" a principle, and it is doing him a disservice to let him think he does. Above all things science teaching demands intellectual honesty. 7

Though he himself never heard Armstrong teach, Westaway learned a good deal about Armstrong's methods from Armstrong's former pupils, and came to the conclusion that Armstrong's success resided in his extraordinary personality, and not in his use of the balance or in heuristics. Westaway also doubted that Armstrong ever taught a class of dull students, - as distinct from students totally ignorant of science, and pointed out that the successful use of the method pre-supposed not only a gifted teacher but also a very small class, say four or five, so that throughout the lesson the teacher could be at the elbow of each.[8]

In Ireland, as the twentieth century began, far-reaching changes were being introduced into education. At primary-school level science was being promoted by the National Board, and this Board had appointed Mr. Mayhowe Heller, B.Sc., to organise the instruction in the national schools. Science was a compulsory subject in the new programme issued in 1900, even though the Departments governing primary education in either England or Scotland had not yet moved in this direction. Heller's goal was the implementation of this National Board programme, the purpose of which was, he said, to give pupils ample experience of the scientific method of inquiry, to teach self-relianace in work, to cultivate accurate observation and accuracy of thinking and of verbal expression, and to lay the foundation of habit and education on which could be built any form of higher or technical education.[9] Unfortunately, he was attempting to achieve admirable objectives by means of teachers whose training was by the monitorial system, and who had not experienced the benefits of any Intermediate education.

The institution in Ireland of the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction in 1899 to replace the Science and Art Department was the outcome of effort to help create better conditions in the 'New Ireland' which was dreamed of as the new century began, and Home Rule seemed nearer. Following conferences between this new Department and the Intermediate Education Board, it was agreed that Natural Philosophy, Chemistry and Drawing should be replaced in the Board's examinations by one subject, to be known as Experimental Science and Drawing. From 1901 onwards, and until a year's notice would have been given by it, the Board agreed not to hold any examination in that subject, but would accept the inspection, and, where necessary, the examination of the new Department.

The foregoing developments in Intermediate Education were a consequence of the Report of the Commissioners on Intermediate Education, 1899, and were part of the Intermediate Board's drive to establish a Modern side to the Curriculum of Intermediate schools, and to encourage the emergence of schools of a Modern type.

Heller expected little success from this drive, and doubted that Intermediate schools would provide adequately for the practical side of education. Adequate provision, in his view, would require that half the school week be devoted to the practical work of workshops, laboratory and drawing office, and the other half spent in the classroom.[10] Only in the cities of Dublin, Belfast and Cork did he see hope that a school might simultaneously offer both a Grammar-type and a Modern-type education. The former could be tested by written examinations, but the latter, he felt, would be best tested by inspection.

The Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction insisted that persons recognised as teachers of Experimental Science in Intermediate Schools should have experience of laboratory work, but, because few teachers in Ireland had this experience, (there being only six laboratories in the secondary schools of Ireland in 1901)[11] it was found necessary to establish summer courses for teachers. Originally it was hoped that by attendance at such courses, each of about one month's duration, a teacher would, in five or six years, be adequately qualified, and in the same time scale a suitable body of science teachers could be made available. These Courses were attended in 1901 by 293 teachers from 196 schools, and the new science programme was taken up by 152 schools in 1901-02 after the hurried installation of laboratories. The influence of heuristics is evident in the Report of the Board for 1902 which pointed out that "The phase of transition has been necessarily abrupt, from a time honoured method, in which the textbook reigned supreme, to one in which the pupil, under skilled direction, is encouraged to find out the facts of science as far as possible for himself, the change is somewhat a revolution".[12]

Unfortunately the examination standard set in 1902 was so high that the results had to be revised and 30 per cent instead of 40 per cent was accepted in most subjects as a pass.[13] In his address to the British Association in 1902, convened in Belfast, Armstrong made reference to these reforms, and, having acknowledged the superiority of the power of imagination of "the Irish race" over that of other sections of the "nation", had this to say about science:

> The programme laid down for primary and intermediate schools appear to me to be well thought out and full of promise; the fault that I might be inclined to find in them is that perhaps they are somewhat too ambitious. But very able men are directing the work who should be wise enough to see that thoroughness be aimed at before all things. Nothing could be more gratifying than Mr.Heller's statement in the Report for 1900 "that the Irish teachers as a whole seem to possess a great natural taste and aptitude for science and the method of experimental inquiry". May they seek to set teachers in other parts of the Kingdom the example which is sorely needed. 14

Unfortunately, complaints about the amount of work required for examination candidates continued, and it would seem that the demands on Irish teachers, requiring them to shift from the almost entirely theoretical and verbal approach to science teaching were over-stretching their capabilities. Yet, despite this, science was to become compulsory over a few years.

Heller, to whose Report Armstrong made reference in the foregoing citation, had spent three-and-a-half years as a science demonstrator in connection with the school Board for London in the 1890's, and by 1897 had helped to put the science scheme of the British Association into operation in no fewer than 40 of the London Board schools. After this he spent three years as head of the day department of the Municipal Technical School in Birmingham. From 1901 onwards he was Head Organiser of Elementary Science and Object Lessons with the National Board of Education in Ireland until the reorganisation of Educational bodies, after national independence was won, placed him in the Technical Instruction Branch of the Department of Education of the Irish Free State.[15] He remained in that Branch until 1933. The methods used by Heller in London, and presumably continued by him in Ireland, fitted the heuristic philosophy so well that Armstrong included a description of them in one of his papers on the art of making children discover things for themselves.[16]

So well did the improverished schools in Ireland respond to the financial inducements provided for the promotion of Experimental Science that in 1906-07 more than £25,000 was paid to Day Secondary Schools compared to less than £1,500 in 1901-02. The impact of this advance of science was felt especially on the Classics, so that by 1908, of 619 Exhibitions awarded by the Intermediate Education Board only 40 went to Classics compared with 370 for the Mathematics, Science and Drawing grouping.[17] This rapid decline in Classics was taking place despite the fact that teachers of Classics, unlike those of science, were well qualified usually. The hope expressed by Armstrong on an earlier occasion that science would not replace classics was rapidly proving itself vain, at least so in Ireland, and the worst fears of classicists who saw science as a threat in the long term were now clearly justified.

Given the relatively poor qualifications of teachers of science and the ambitious nature of the science programmes it seems incredible that student performance in examinations could have risen to such a level that science claimed so many Exhibitions. While the popularity of science could be explained by the fact that science was paid for twice, - once by the Department and again by the Board as an almost universal subject in the examination, - it had the further appeal that, in the case of Pass students it was examined by inspection only, each class either passing or failing in toto, the verdict depending on attendance and quality of workbooks kept. The uniformity of results based on this method of assessment appealed greatly to teachers of science who, unlike their brethren teaching other subjects, were not encumbered (in their labours for results fees) by the vagaries of pupils' abilities, teacher skills, or the difficulties inherent in the subject, and, being registered, which other teachers were not, they could command higher salaries into the bargain.[18]

Not unexpectedly some misgivings were entertained as to the wholesomeness of an education whereby, at the age of 14 or 15, many students, having come to Intermediate school too late, could pass successfully after a year's work in the particularly popular combination of subjects: Science, Irish and French, whereas students of classics would have no hope of passing in that subject under similar conditions.[19] In addition to this the provision of science instruction according to the requirements of the Department caused a lot of disorganisation in schools. Probably this was to some extent due to the administrative structures which required that Heads of schools serve two masters, the Board and the Department. A further contentious matter was the ban on the use of text-books, despite the fact that in some countries, especially in Germany, demonstrations by the teacher and use of books was acceptable science methodology. An article in The Irish Ecclesiastical Record in 1912 deplored the banishment of not merely books, but also of Music, Drawing and kindred subjects from the schools, which, like Experimental Science, could cultivate the faculty of observation and criticism, and the senses of sight and touch.[20] Besides these things the selection, by inspectors of the Department, of students deemed capable of taking the honours courses without consultation with Headmasters was a cause of further dissatisfaction.[21]

The introduction in England of a code of regulations pertaining to public examinations was paralleled in Ireland in 1916 by a unilateral decision of the Intermediate Education Board to introduce individual written examinations in science for Pass candidates. The move was not favoured by science teachers,[22] and undoubtedly was a set-back not only for discovery methods of teaching, but also for the Technical Instruction Branch.

Experimental science received a further serious set back on the institution of the Irish Free State partly because the revival of the Irish language took precedence over the more ulitarian features of both primary and secondary school curricula. Yet the characteristics of this new emphasis were in many respects a repetition of those which earlier marked the emphasis on Experimental Science. Both developments serve to highlight an important aspect of curriculum changes in Irish schools - i.e. the placing of too much control of education in the hands of a few enthusiasts. The science experience also serves to illustrate that tensions between technical education and the secondary system had roots in the excessive demands of the Technical Instruction Branch on the private secondary schools.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Vide *Journal of the Chemical Society*, 1940, pp.1418-1439.

2. This article is based large on a collection of 26 papers by Armstrong, most of which were published between 1891 and 1908, and later republished in book form. (Vide ref.4 infra).

3. (i) *Nature*, July 24, 1937, pp. 140-142.
   (ii) *Dictionary of National Biography*, 1931-1940, pp. 16-17.
   (iii) *Chemistry and Industry*, Vol. ix, 1941.

4. Henry, E. Armstrong, L.L.D., Ph.D., F.R.S., *The Teaching of Scientific Method and Other Papers on Education*, Second Edition. (London: Macmillan and Co., 1910).

5. Armstrong, op. cit.,pp. 186-194.

6. Vide ref 1 supra.

7. F.W. Westaway, *Science Teaching*, (Blackie & Son Limited, 1929), pp. 26-27.

8. Ibid.

9. W. Mayhowe Heller, Evidence of the Commissioners, *Royal Commission on University Education in Ireland*, *Second Report*.

10. Ibid.

11. Graham Balfour, M.A. *The Educational Systems of Great Britain and Ireland*, Second Edition. (Clarendon Press, 1903), p. 203.

12. Quoted in Balfour, op. cit., p. 203.

13. Balfour, op. cit., p. 208.

14. Armstrong, op. cit., p.90.

15. Vide *Thoms Directory*,1900 to 1934.

16. Armstrong, op.cit., pp. 298-299.

17. Intermediate Education Board, *Report of the Inspectors on the Teaching of Science and Classics*. (Unpublished. Circa March 1911).

18. *Ibid.*

19. Ibid.

20. M'Hardy, Flint: 'The Philosophy of Action Applied to Education', *The Irish Educational Record*, Vol. XXIII, 1912, p. 165.

21. Committee of Inquiry into the Provisions of the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction, *Minority Report*, p. 126.

22. Vide *The Times Educational Supplement*, column 'Ireland', November 16 and December 14, 1916.

Irish Educational Studies, Vol.3, No.2, 1983.

THEORY AND PRACTICE - A DISCUSSION OF THE VIEWS OF NORTHERN IRELAND TEACHERS

A. McEwen and J.F. Fulton

Probably the main criticism of courses of initial training for teachers is that they do not adequately prepare the students for the practical realities of life in the classroom. Certainly this is the critical comment most frequently made by teachers who tend to look back at the old certificate course of a quarter of a century ago as at least enabling them to acquire a range of useable classroom skills and methods. Some of this can be put down perhaps to a nostalgia which helps to cloud accurate recall (as can be seen from the literature the same criticisms were made by practising teachers of the certificate course then). However, a feeling now appears to exist that, between the training courses and the challenges young teachers will have to confront, there has opened up a gap which has left many of them feeling ill-equipped, frustrated and without support. Their unease is reinforced by their belief that the advent of the degree has led to a disproportionate amount of time being given to theoretical studies with practical concerns relegated to a minor place.

The perceived discontinuity between theory and practice is a matter of controversy with a long history in the initial training of teachers and a question of major significance for any course of professional preparation. There has always been tension (often less than creative) between teacher trainers and the practitioners, the class teachers. The level at which this debate is conducted is frequently unsophisticated, at times crude, and reflects the differences between the teachers and those who have managed according to the teachers to escape from the chalk face and have taken refuge in the mystiques and myths of not altogether relevant theory. Trainers on the other hand, counter by pointing out that practice without an adequate theoretical basis for making decisions and deploying one's skills is not only non-professional but anti-professional. To be professional, it is argued, teachers must accept the responsibility for the goals they aspire to achieve and the social contexts in which the process of seeking to achieve these goals takes place. Such arguments are not unique to teaching. It is no coincidence that reports such as the Todd Report on Medical Education and the Ormrod Report on Legal Education have each taken the theory-practice relationship as one of their major themes. There are a number of points from which one could approach an analysis of this relationship and its implications for teachers and teaching. One of the most useful is to examine the area in which the knowledge gained from theory is utilised in practice. In relation to teaching the focus is on the classroom, the school, and other professional arenas.

For example, in a recent paper, Terhart and Drerup (1981) distinguished three models of teaching based on different ways in which knowledge is utilised. Since each has its advantages and disadvantages, they are often combined with different degrees of emphasis. However for analytic purposes it is necessary to consider each separately.

1. Craft Model

This model for teaching strongly emphasises the importance of practical experience in schools, which is held to provide the student not only with an opportunity to acquire classroom skills but also to learn about the

the aims of education. These are generally couched in terms of the development of children. It was the first historically. Preparation for teaching was looked upon as an apprenticeship, sometimes rather unkindly referred to as "sitting next to Nellie". It is likely that teacher-trainers today frequently dismiss Nellie's virtues too lightly and do not take sufficiently seriously the potential which a good teacher can have for making a substantial and unique contribution to the training of a student placed under her supervision.

Those who favour the craft approach to teacher training are generally indifferent to theory. The only theoretical principles considered relevant are those which grow directly out of practice. This model was dominant in teacher training colleges during their early years when they were concerned almost wholly with the preparation of students to teach in primary schools. It was often supplemented by reading the great books on education or rather reading about the great educators with a view to analysing their systems to provide methods to follow. Learning was by imitation - the professional tutor/class teacher often took model lessons or by following the system of methods recommended by the great figures of the past (the Herbartian steps achieved great popularity).

The main disadvantage of the model is that it implies a view of knowledge and of methods of transmission which are relatively static and unchanging. What change does take place is limited in extent and gradual in development. There is no place for research and theory-construction, without which there is no basis for criticism and innovation. In this approach an increase in knowledge and informed change can only come about through an extension of practice. Continuity from theory to practice is replaced by one from practice to practice. Despite all this, the craft element in teaching is again becoming a focus of attention for teacher trainers. At a time when there appears to be a gap between theory and practice, it is now being argued that it at least provides students with a core of knowledge and skills without which they will not survive as classroom teachers and any danger of uncritical acceptance of existing practice can be overcome by other aspects of the course.

2. Applied science model

The craft model no longer holds the dominant position it once did; its influence has now waned - at least in respect of teacher training. In the 1950s, a more rapidly changing world characterised by more dissensus and plurality in respect of values and an expanding corpus of knowledge which continually put earlier ideas out of date, clearly made different demands on teachers which required different modes of preparation. Many of the challenges facing teachers were qualitatively distinct from those with which they earlier had to cope. It became clear that skills acquired through an apprenticeship scheme no longer constituted a complete training. An approach through which curriculum principles and methods of teaching could be derived from scientific research was held to be necessary. According to this model, sometimes called the technological model (Hartnett and Naish, 1979), education is comparable to medicine and engineering, the social and behavioural sciences replacing the natural as the sources of readily applicable knowledge. Little account is taken of aims. These should be considered and defined elsewhere. The focus is on means, the goal effectiveness and what we do not yet know about means, we'll find out by research. One of the most influential systems in this model has its philosophical and psychological roots in behaviourism of the Skinnerian variety. This movement finds it methodological expression in such technical innovations as performance-based (or competencybased) teacher education (PBTE/CBTE), micro-training, behaviour modification and certain games and simulation activities. These and similar methods based on operant conditioning principles can be seen as part of a concern to define objectives more specifically, so that schools can be made accountable to the various publics for the job they are doing.

Terhart and Drerup refer to this model as the theory-to-technology model because as far as possible the production of the theoretical knowledge is separated from the field of application (utilisation). This is thought to be the only satisfactory way to maintain scientific rigour, because of the difficulties of controlling all the variables in the classroom.

A major disadvantage, of course, is that educational research has not produced an agreed set of principles and methods on which a best way of teaching can be based, but a number of different theories which provide for alternative courses of action. Some even think that frequently no basis for action is provided at all. In addition, a number of writers, including Terhart and Drerup, have argued that "the utilisation of scientific knowledge in education is not in the first instance a logical problem of transforming general laws into efficient technologies but a matter of psychological, social and political bargaining".

3. Enlightenment model

The applied science (technological) model, while extremely useful, has been criticised also on the grounds that it takes no account of either the relationship aspects of teaching or the sociocultural conditions under which schooling takes place. Neither is it concerned with the complex moral questions which arise about both ends and means. The nature of the educational enterprise appears to be reduced to a series of technical problems, the elucidation of which can be attempted through empirical research.

Terhart and Drerup, who leaned heavily on the writings of Habermas, use the term "enlightenment" to describe a third model because they believe that in order to have an effect on practice in education, which is an enterprise involving persons, theoretical knowledge must be used to enlighten or illuminate the understanding of the prarticipants involved (teachers, pupils, parents and others) about teaching and learning in a particular society. However one can see an immediate difficulty - a utilitarian problem. If a critical analysis shows some changes in practice to be necessary, we have to decide what changes should be made and how they should be organised. Frequently these changes will be guided by what empirical research suggests is an efficient way of doing so. Often a "best way" is not known and even if it is, it may not be possible for any of a variety of reasons. So we are brought back to eclecticism and bargaining. Another difficulty is that this kind of critical analysis often leads to no practical action because of a reluctance to organise changes according to the criteria of technological efficiency.

It is clear that aspects of all three models are found in our courses, and that is as it should be since positive elements exist in all. The craft model emphasises the need to help young teachers acquire well-tried, proven methods of teaching as are currently used in schools - otherwise they would flounder. The applied science model holds out the promise of an objective analysis of teaching without excess philosophical baggage (without any at all). The enlightenment model stresses that the improvement of educational practice is based firmly on the enlightenment of those involved in education, about society, about education and about themselves. I find this analysis valuable not only because it provides a useful basis for considering the place of theory and practice in the training courses but also because it shows clearly the absurdities which can result from a naive approach to the theory-practice issue.

This analysis of teaching can provide insights not only on the relationship between theory and practice but also on the views held by teachers on a range of professional issues. For example, there is some evidence to suggest that teachers, while critical of training courses, both initial and in-service, for being too theoretical and paying insufficient attention to practice, nevertheless see theory as making the more significant contribution to their professional status and identity. Accordingly, it was decided to ascertain initially the views of teachers on a limited range of issues which appeared to be related to theory and practice in teaching.

Surveys

A group of twelve teachers ranging in experience from two years to twenty-six were interviewed on three aspects of their work, the pedagogical, the academic and the social-political. The first included such issues as professional freedom with respect to curriculum and methods, teacher-pupil relations and discipline. The second comprised items such as selection, mixed abilities and the sources of professional identity. The social-political was concerned with the wider ideological framework within which teachers carried out the task of schooling. The interviews, each of which lasted about 1½ hours, took place over a period of six months. They were conducted either at home or at the interviewee's school and all were taped for later analysis. The format was semi-structured and the teachers were given wide freedom to pursue all the topics.

On the basis of the results of the interviews, a questionnaire was constructed. This was further refined on the basis of a pilot study with 300 teachers and the final form of the questionnaire was sent to a sample of 900 teachers throughout Northern Ireland.

Questionnaire

Pedagogical

1 There are accepted basic professional skills which all teachers should share.

2 For the teacher to be fully effective he/she needs to develop skills for projecting his/her personality in the classroom.

3 Educational administrators work in the professional interests of teachers.

4 Pedagogical skills should form the core of a teacher's professional authority.

5 Each school subject has its own particular identify and should be taught that way.

6 Where subjects are harnessed to one central theme it develops a more informal style of teaching.

Academic

7 A professional identity in teaching is best obtained through the development of one's own subject.

8 Academic ability at academic subjects accurately determines a pupil's potential for future job success.

9 The chief characteristic of an academic curriculum is that it is highly theoretical.

10 Non-academic knowledge deals with ideas at a relatively low level of abstraction.

11 The subjects of the school curriculum can be arranged in a prestige hierarchy with respect to their academic prestige.

12 Working with one's brain carries more prestige than working with one's hands.

Social/Political

13 Teachers have a social contract with society to introduce children into generally accepted social ideas.

14 A teacher's methods and approach to his/her pupils should reflect a general political awareness.

15 The needs of the economic system should directly influence teaching.

16 The needs of industry are not sufficiently taken into account by the teaching profession.

17 Educational investment gives a better return economically when concentrated upon most talented pupils.

18 It is important to pupils to let them know their abilities at as early a stage as possible.

The sample was drawn from all types of schools, secondary, grammar, secondary intermediate and primary. In addition, the secondary intermediate and primary schools were divided into controlled (i.e. state, almost wholly Protestant) and maintained (i.e. voluntary but maintained by the local education and library boards and almost wholly Catholic). A five point Likert scale was used. 55 per cent of the questionnaires were returned and useable.

The responses were analysed using an analysis of variance procedure (SPSS computer package - 1975).

Discussion of results

TABLE 1 PEDAGOGICAL ELEMENT BY TYPE OF SCHOOL

Variable		Mean	Std.Dev.	F Ratio	F Probabili
1	secondary intermediate	1.65	0.67	1.47	0.230
	grammar	1.78	0.74		
	primary	1.66	0.58		
2	secondary intermediate	1.69	0.73	5.19	0.005**
	grammar	1.90	0.96		
	primary	1.95	0.86		
3	secondary intermediate	3.22	0.93	5.21	0.005**
	grammar	3.14	0.95		
	primary	2.93	0.86		
4	secondary intermediate	2.32	0.90	1.50	0.22
	grammar	2.16	0.83		
	primary	2.22	0.83		
5	secondary intermediate	2.79	1.06	14.64	0.001*
	grammar	2.63	1.06		
	primary	3.77	1.04		
6	secondary intermediate	2.64	0.81	14.45	0.001*
	grammar	2.61	0.73		
	primary	2.42	0.70		

* = 0.1% level of significance (P 0.001)
** = 1% level of significance (P 0.01)

TABLE 2 **ACADEMIC ELEMENT BY TYPE OF SCHOOL**

Variable		Mean	Std.Dev.	F Ratio	F Probability
7	secondary intermediate	2.74	1.03	14.00	0.001*
	grammar	2.44	0.96		
	primary	3.09	1.00		
8	secondary intermediate	3.85	0.86	0.28	0.970
	grammar	3.84	0.88		
	primary	3.82	0.89		
9	secondary intermediate	2.83	1.07	2.97	0.520
	grammar	2.98	1.09		
	primary	2/66	1.03		
10	secondary intermediate	3.24	1.05	3.84	0.220
	grammar	2.91	0.90		
	primary	3.15	0.99		
11	secondary intermediate	3.14	1.16	2.06	0.130
	grammar	3.20	1.17		
	primary	3.01	1.03		
12	secondary intermediate	3.10	1.25	1.91	0.15
	grammar	2.96	1.16		
	primary	2.85	1.27		

* = 0.1% level of significance (P 0.001)

TABLE 3 SOCIAL/POLITICAL ELEMENT BY TYPE OF SCHOOL

Variable		Mean	Std.Dev.	F Ratio	F Probability
13	secondary intermediate	2.36	1.00	12.11	0.001*
	grammar	2.64	1.20		
	primary	2.05	0.80		
14	secondary intermediate	3.33	1.09	10.83	0.001*
	grammar	2.91	1.00		
	primary	3.51	0.96		
15	secondary intermediate	2.94	1.12	1.42	0.243
	grammar	3.00	1.11		
	primary	3.12	1.03		
16	secondary intermediate	2.46	1.09	2.53	0.80
	grammar	2.70	1.07		
	primary	2.42	0.92		
17	secondary intermediate	3.76	1.01	3.77	0.024***
	grammar	3.53	1.02		
	primary	3.50	1.02		
18	secondary intermediate	2.89	1.14	1.28	0.280
	grammar	3.10	1.01		
	primary	3.00	1.15		

* = 0.1% level of significance (P 0.001)
** = 1% level of significance (P 0.01)
*** = 5% level of significance (P 0.05)

It can be seen from Table 1 that for teachers from all types of school, pedagogy forms a significant part of their professional identity. The responses to the two general statements (VARS 1 and 4) show no significant differences among the groups. However, clear differences emerge on the other more specific variables. VAR 2 shows a significant difference between secondary teachers on one hand and grammar and primary on the other. Although the three means are at the agreement end of the scale the latter two groups appear less sure about the importance of personality in the classroom than secondary teachers. This may reflect a greater concern with discipline matters in secondary intermediate schools and also more emphasis in the grammar school upon the intrinsic discipline of the subject. VAR 5 also shows a clear difference in the views of primary teachers on one hand and secondary and grammar teachers on the other. The primary teachers have a less subject-centred view of pedagogy. In respect of VAR 7, there is a significant disagreement between the three groups. Grammar school teachers, as might be expected, agree most clearly with the statement. The views of primary teachers confirm the earlier finding that method is more central to their identity as a teacher than subject content.

Significant differences emerge on three statements in respect of Table 3 (VARS 13, 14 and 17) although in all cases it is the extent of agreement or disagreement rather than a fundamental split. One of the groups feels more strongly about these issues than the others. In respect of VAR 13, the score for grammar schools could be interpreted as indicating a dislike for anything that could be perceived as "social engineering". On the other hand, there is a feeling, particularly among grammar school teachers that they should be aware of wider political consideration. In the main, primary school teachers disagree with this statement, a response that could be interpreted as a desire to protect younger pupils from the arguments, disputes and tensions that inevitably surround differences in political and cultural ideologies. All groups disagree with the suggestion that educational investment should be concentrated on the most talented, although the strength of the disagreement varies between the groups.

TABLE 4 **PEDAGOGICAL ELEMENT BY MANAGEMENT TYPE**

Variable		Mean	Std.Dev.	F Ratio	F Probability
1	controlled	1.69	0.73	0.71	0.41
	maintained	1.64	0.54		
2	controlled	1.80	0.82	0.44	0.50
	maintained	1.85	0.85		
3	controlled	3.17	0.91	4.79	0.02***
	maintained	2.98	0.92		
4	controlled	2.25	0.88	0.007	0.97
	maintained	2.26	0.82		
5	controlled	2.83	1.08	6.88	0.009
	maintained	3.10	1.07		
6	controlled	2.52	0.75	0.25	0.61
	maintained	2.48	0.85		

TABLE 5 **ACADEMIC ELEMENT BY MANAGEMENT TYPE**

Variable		Mean	Std.Dev.	F Ratio	F Probability
7	controlled	2.75	1.02	1.57	0.21
	maintained	2.88	1.03		
8	controlled	3.82	0.86	0.42	0.52
	maintained	3.87	0.89		
9	controlled	2.87	1.05	4.68	0.03***
	maintained	2.65	1.06		
10	controlled	3.10	0.99	2.39	0.12
	mainatined	3.26	1.05		
11	controlled	3.15	1.12	0.16	0.69
	maintained	3.10	1.12		
12	controlled	2.91	1.24	3.47	0.06
	maintained	3.13	1.22		

TABLE 6 SOCIAL/POLITICAL ELEMENT BY MANAGEMENT TYPE

Variable		Mean	Std.Dev.	F Ratio	F Probability
13	controlled	2.36	1.01	3.01	0.08
	maintained	2.20	0.98		
14	controlled	3.28	1.05	1.11	0.29
	maintained	3.38	1.02		
15	controlled	2.99	1.09	0.53	0.47
	maintained	3.06	1.08		
16	controlled	2.51	1.04	0.53	0.46
	maintained	2.44	1.01		
17	controlled	3.50	1.05	12.90	0.001*
	maintained	3.85	0.92		
18	controlled	2.99	1.08	0.64	0.42
	maintained	2.90	1.21		

* = 0.1% level of significance (P 0.001)

** = 1% level of significance (P 0.01)

*** = 5% level of significance (P 0.05)

The most striking fact emerging from the analysis of the results by management type of school is the homogeneity of views between teachers in controlled (Protestant) and maintained (Catholic) schools. In relation to only three of the eighteen variables do the responses differ significantly (VARS 3, 9 and 17) and in all cases it is the extent of the agreement or disagreement that the difference is reflecting. Protestant teachers appear to be less in sympathy (VAR 3) with the views and practices of the educational bureaucracy, a result perhaps of the differing relationships between the two types of schools and the local education and library boards. A small but significant difference emerges about the nature of the academic curriculum (VAR 9). Both groups feel strongly that beneficial results would not flow from discriminating in resource provision in favour of the most talented pupils.

Teachers in maintained schools feel this somewhat more strongly than their counterparts in controlled schools. One interesting aspect of the agreement between teachers in the two types of schools is shown in the responses to VAR 13. It seems clear that both groups agree that schools have a duty to help their pupils learn generally accepted social ideas and thus help them to acquire the shared values necessary to bind the community together.

TABLE 7 **PEDAGOGICAL ELEMENT BY SEX**

Variable		Mean	Std.Dev.	F Ratio	F Probability
1	Male	1.6[illegible]	0.70	0.26	0.510
	Female	1.66	0.60		
2	Male	1.73	0.74	6.07	0.014***
	Female	1.90	0.89		
3	Male	3.19	0.98	4.54	0.033***
	Female	3.02	0.83		
4	Male	2.19	0.85	3.44	0.064
	Female	2.33	0.88		
5	Male	2.91	1.06	0.01	0.890
	Female	2.93	1.10		
6	Male	2.61	0.79		
	Female	2.39	0.75		

TABLE 8 ACADEMIC ELEMENT BY SEX

Variable		Mean	Std.Dev.	F Ratio	F Probability
7	Male	2.81	1.02	0.06	0.810
	Female	2.79	1.04		
8	Male	3.81	0.93	0.77	0.370
	Female	3.88	0.80		
9	Male	2.84	1.07	0.73	0.390
	Female	2.76	1.04		
10	Male	3.07	1.01	2.84	0.090
	Female	3.22	1.00		
11	Male	3.11	1.16	0.20	0.650
	Female	3.16	1.09		
12	Male	3.00	1.21	0.11	0.740
	Female	2.96	1.26		

TABLE 9 SOCIAL/POLITICAL ELEMENT BY SEX

Variable		Mean	Std.Dev.	F Ratio	F Probability
13	Male	2.48	1.03	14.57	0.001*
	Female	2.14	0.94		
14	Male	3.29	1.05	0.24	0.620
	Female	3.34	1.03		
15	Male	3.00	1.11	0.04	0.840
	Female	3.02	1.06		
16	Male	2.51	1.06	0.16	0.680
	Female	2.48	1.01		
17	Male	3.57	1.06	1.45	0.230
	Female	3.68	0.98		
18	Male	2.97	1.14	0.06	0.800
	Female	2.95	1.11		

* = 0.1% level of significance (P 0.001)
** = 1% level of significance (P 0.01)
*** = 5% level of significance (P 0.05)

The results show that, when the responses of male and female teachers are compared, the results are remarkably similar. On only three of the variables were the differences significant. Both groups consider interpersonal skills to be important (VAR 2), but surprisingly perhaps, male teachers hold this view more strongly than female teachers. On the other hand, the male teachers are more sceptical than the female teachers and the role of the administration. This may reflect a greater concern and frustration with promotion and salary prospects among male teachers. With respect to VAR 13, female teachers express stronger agreement than do male teachers with the role of the school as an agent of socialisation through helping the pupils acquire generally accepted social ideas and values.

Conclusions

A number of tentative conclusions can be drawn from the results of this survey:

1. There is a wide measure of agreement on many professional issues among the different groups of teachers. As has been shown there are some differences but most of these reflect the extent of agreement or disagreement rather than a fundamental difference in ideology. The profession can be said to have shown a remarkable degree of homogeneity.

2. Teachers appear to be ambivalent about their role as a learned or academic profession. Professional identity is related closely to subject knowledge, although on this issue primary teachers, not unexpectedly, differ somewhat from secondary level teachers. Academic knowledge, which is seen as highly theoretical, is held to carry great prestige. With respect to the models of teaching, teachers appear to emphasise the skills or craft

element when discussing the requirements of initial and in-service training courses, yet in relation to professionalism emphasise the importance of theoretical knowledge.

3. The concept of professionalism when applied to teaching must be treated with caution. The results are consistent with the statement that different groups interpret professionalism in different ways. It is important that these differences are fully examined since many educational issues are related closely to the professionalisation of teachers and their perceptions of their role. The morale of teachers, their efficiency and the rewards they receive are all dependent to a large extent on their perception of their status and of the sources from which the status is derived. It is also of practical concern to those in teacher training since it influences relationships between the schools and the training institutions at all levels. For these reasons, it is clear that a more detailed research programme is necessary. The authors are about to start such a programme using a repertory grid approach to examine some of these factors and their policy implications.

REFERENCES

1. Hartnett, A, and Naish, M. (1979). Technicians or social bandits? Some moral and political issues in the education of teachers. Paper prepared for UCET Conference, Oxford 1979.

2. Nie, N.H., Hill, C.H., Jenkins, J.G., Steinbrenner, K. and Bent, D.H. (1975). Statistical Package for the Social Sciences. (2nd ed.), New York: McGraw Hill.

3. Terhart. E. and Drerup, H. (1981). Knowledge utilisation in the science of teaching: traditional models and new perspectives. British Journal of Educational Studies, XXIX, 1, 9-13.

Irish Educational Studies, Vol.3, No.2, 1983.

COGNITIVE CONSCIOUSNESS AND THE INITIAL TEACHING OF READING

W. G. O'Neill

What is the nature of the problem faced by children when they begin to read? This must be one of the most important questions for the teacher of reading. It is the central issue of discussion in this paper. Our ignorance of the process of reading and especially of the ways in which children approach reading is enormous. It is the aim of this paper to examine the relationship between cognitive consciousness and the initial teaching of reading and hopefully to illuminate aspects of the difficulty faced by many children when starting to read.

Cognitive consciousness refers to the process of reflecting on our own thinking, becoming aware of it and consequently gaining control of it. It is on this process that all higher intellectual skills depend (Vygotsky, 1962). Reading is such a skill. It is argued here that essential to the process of reading is gaining awareness of aspects of speech. Reading, in its initial stages at least, is a deliberate conscious process, speech is for the most part an unconscious process. The issue of the nature of the relationship between speech and written language is a central one in any theory of reading. Three basic approaches to the teaching of reading can be identified; each approach hypothesises a different relationship between oral and written speech. Following Ghall (1967) the first two approaches will be referred to as the decoding-emphasis and the meaning-emphasis. The third will be referred to as the metacognitive approach. Metacognition refers to the awareness of cognitive acts. Reading is a cognitive social skill. Its initial development requires conscious awareness of aspects of language. It is argued that although the decoding - emphasis and the meaning - emphasis approaches have added much to our understanding of the reading process, it is the metacognitive approach that focuses our attention on the nature of the problem faced by the learner.

1. The Decoding - Emphasis Approach

The Linguists Bloomfield (1933) and Fries (1962) argued that reading and listening were two parallel passive processes. The task of the reader is to transfer from the auditory code of listening to the visual code of reading. Thus the emphasis in this approach is on decoding. A one-to-one relationship is assumed to exist between language coded in the auditory mode and language coded in the visual mode. This view of reading leads to a 'phonic' approach where the emphasis is on analysing the sound of words and the learning of rules. This theory is deficient in several aspects:

(a) the relationship between speech and written language is a complex one.

(b) phonic analysis is not sufficient to explain how we recognise words.

(c) the wrong issue is being emphasised. Most children possess the information processing ability to work out how the code works.

2. The Meaning - Emphasis Approach

The debate between a decoding approach and a meaning approach to the teaching of reading has dominated the world of reading. Even in countries such as China which do not have an alphabetic script the central issue has been the relative merits of meaning-emphasis versus code-emphasis approaches (Downing, 1973). The meaning-emphasis approach to the teaching of reading stresses the meaningful communication aspects of written language. The psycholinguistic theories of Goodman (1967) and Smith (1978) are the most influential. It is assumed that reading and listening are parallel active processes. It is argued that the process of learning to read follows a similar pattern to the process of learning to speak, "that children learn to read and write in the same way and for the same reasons as they learn to speak and read." (Goodman and Goodman, 1979). They argue that learning to read is "natural", that children in a literate society develop an awareness of print at a very early age without formal instruction. The acquisition of literacy is viewed as an extension of the acquisition of speech.

This theory is not consistent with the evidence:

(a) children are typically confused by the reading process (Downing, 1979); they lack an awareness of print (Reid, 1966) and are often not motivated to read.

(b) there are fundamental differences between the nature of spoken and written language and it is precisely these differences which lead to the confusion about the nature of reading.

(c) the assumption that children do not require systematic instruction is questionable.

3. The Metacognitive Approach

That written and oral speech differ fundamentally has long been argued by the Russian psychologist Vygotsky (1962), "Written speech is a separate linguistic function differing from oral speech in both structure and mode of functioning."

Oral speech is learned without conscious awareness of the process, it is learned spontaneously. Awareness of spontaneous concepts such as speech develop slowly after the concept has been learned unconsciously. Vygotsky (1962) argued that the development of highly structured concepts such as written language follow a different development. Due to the nature of the difference between speech and writing the learner needs to be consciously aware of aspects of the reading process as a prerequisite to literacy. A similar view has been expressed by Downing (1979) who emphasises that understanding must be the key concept in any approach to reading. He stated that, "the chief aim of reading instruction should be to develop clear understanding of why people read and write and how they code language in writing."

It is argued here that the development of conscious awareness, the ability to reflect on one's own actions, is the essential prerequisite to literacy. Reading is a form of language, like speech, its chief purpose is communication. To say that learning to read must be meaningful is not sufficient; the learner must be brought to an understanding of how meaning is communicated in both speech and written language.

The child who has learned to speak has demonstrated a powerful ability for learning. In order to speak, his knowledge of language must be extensive. Much of this knowledge is implicit, he lacks awareness of it. Although reading is also a form of language it is of a different order to speech. Reading requires explicit knowledge of the fundamental concepts of language. This knowledge is made explicit through reflection on specific aspects of language. Cognitive consciousness is therefore the making explicit that which was implicit; it is gaining access to cognitive unconsciousness.

Children possess a highly developed information processing system. They do not need to be taught how to recognise words. What is perplexing about reading is the process itself. Many children simply do not understand what it is all about. Other than learning to read much of their effort is directed to the finding out of what it is that they are supposed to be learning.

It is highly likely that we all evolve our own methods for word recognition. The various decoding approaches indicate possible clues to word recognition. It is possible that our ability to recognize words may be enhanced and insight gained by being made aware of these clues. However, it is probably detrimental to systematically teach one approach to word recognition as this would probably lead to a lack of development in the learners' information processing capacity. Besides no decoding system adequately explains the phenomenon.

Awareness of these aspects of language required for literacy does not develop spontaneously from spoken language; they are inaccessible to consciousness without the aid of a teacher. The role of the teacher is therefore central in the process of learning to read. Children must be involved in the process of thinking and reflecting on language. The key concepts of awareness and understanding cannot be directly taught. The role of dialogue is crucial. The learner must be involved in situations and activities which will lead him to reflect on the fundamental concepts of language. How the learner approaches the reading process is the prime consideration. The most effective teaching method will involve not only genuine dialogue (where the expressing of the learner's understanding of the task is valued) but also a conscious reflection by the learner in those situations in which he is unable to communicate.

The argument is concerned with the initial process of learning to read. It is not inconsistent with a developmental approach to the reading process in general. The task involved in the initial learning process is significantly different from the task involved in later stages of reading. It is arguable that the notion of reading as a "psycholinguistic guessing game" (Goodman, 1967) is more appropriate to a later stage in the process.

Three specific aspects of the reading process can be identified which contribute to its inaccessability:

(a) the nature of the alphabetic script;

(b) the abstract nature of written language;

(c) the obscure nature of the communication structure.

The Nature of the Alphabetic Script

Written language is a purposeful representation of aspects of spoken language. Although written language was derived from spoken language both language forms function independently. All that is provided in a writing system is sufficient cues for the reader to work out the writer's message on the basis of prior knowledge of the language. The clues provided are arbitrary and differ from language to language. It is the writer's task to work out the logic of the grapheme/phoneme relationship. This is no easy task and leads to much confusion on the part of the learner. Young children for example, are often totally unaware that the continuous flow of speech can be subdivided into units (Francis, 1975).

Although it is a matter of considerable debate among linguists (Downing and Leong, 1982) it is generally accepted that the phoneme is the basic unit of our writing system. Our 26 letters represent some 44 phonemes the exact number differing from dialect to dialect. The phonic approach to reading aims to explicity teach the complexities of the grapheme/phoneme relationship. Children do, however, learn to read without explicit phonic instruction. The argument here is that what is required is not knowledge of the rules but an awareness of how the system works. Francis (1982) distinguishes three levels of linguistic awareness. The basic level is that of the direct understanding of speech in everyday use. The second level is understanding that verbal expressions can themselves be talked about. Awareness of verbal expressions as objects of attention seems to be a necessary condition for learning to read. The third level is awareness of the linguistic structuring of oral and written expressions. Certain aspects of knowledge of this structuring seems to be necessary in linking spoken and written language.

Two basic steps can be identified in the development of this awareness. The first step is to develop an awareness of the sound structure of spoken language, so that it can be segmented into units. The second step is to help the learner to realise that there is a logical link between the units of speech and the units of writing. Given this understanding the child can very efficiently evolve his own personal system of word recognition.

The Abstract Nature of Written Language

Very few children experience difficulty learning to speak. By contrast it is not unusual for many children to find reading a very arduous task. Vygotsky (1962) argues that it is the abstract quality of written language that is the main stumbling block. He claims that, "even its minimal development requires a high level of abstraction. It is speech in thought and image only, lacking the musical, expressive, intonational quality of oral speech."

In perceiving oral speech we perceive the whole situation, not just the words. We use not only all the non-verbal language clues but we sift the environment for clues to the meaning of an utterance. It is not simply the logic of the statement that is attended to, it is every aspect of the environment. Margaret Donaldson (1970) carried out a series of Piagetian tests on Scottish children. In their original format the children typically failed. When, however, she presented the tasks again, preserving the logic but setting them in more familiar situations she reported significant improvement. She argued that the children's thinking was "embedded in the flow of events." They did not understand the "disembedded" language of the tests. Written language has this disembedded quality.

Reading requires an awareness that words are separable from their referents and can be represented by written symbols. In oral communication words are only one element of the process. Oral communication does not demand an awareness of words as symbols. In reading, meaning must be communicated through the use of language only. The learner must become aware of the symbolic nature of language. This entails reflecting on the use and power of words.

Writing is not simply speech in written form. The written word must be abstracted from the situation in order to convey the meaning of the situation. In order to write the writer must possess an ability to consciously manipulate language. In order to read the reader must be aware that language can be consciously manipulated.

Two steps can be identified in the development of metalinguistic awareness. "The first step is the step of conceptualising language, freeing it from its embeddedness in events." (Donaldson, 1979). What is required is not a greater facility with spoken language but an ability to reflect on it.

The second step is realizing that the written word must express all the meaning that was previously expressed by the whole situation. In reading, the text provides the only clues to the intended meaning; it is up to the reader to fill in the situation from his own experience.

The Obscure Nature of the Communication Structure

"The primary function of speech is communication, social intercourse" (Vygotsky, 1962). Social interaction is one of the most basic abilities of the human infant, right from the beginning he participates immediately and deeply in communication. In many ways infancy can be seen as a preparation on the part of the baby to begin using language. Children do not have to be motivated to learn to speak, the need to communicate is sufficient. Language is a social phenomenon; it is the result of human interaction. In order to communicate orally, reflection on the act of speaking is not necessary; the knowledge of the complex rules of communication is implicit.

Reading and writing are also social in nature, their prime function is communication, be it with oneself or with others. Written language, thus, has a similar communication structure to speech. The communication aspect of written language is somewhat obscure, however, and is often not apparent to children. They are typically unsure about the function of reading (Reid, 1966) and are frequently lacking in motivation to learn to read. Francis (1983), following a three year longitudinal study on beginning readers, concluded that, "learning to read is frequently not motivated by a desire for effective communication, and conscious awareness that words may be used to influence actions or beliefs may be a necessary condition for success."

Speech does not demand an explicit awareness of the communication process; reading does. If, as is argued here, that the desire to communicate is the prime motivator in learning to speak, then it is understandable that children often lack motivation for reading.

It is suggested that the first step in developing a concept of communication is the ability to reflect on the communicative nature of speech. There is some evidence (Robinson, Goodman and Olson, 1983) that teaching children metalinguistic terms such as 'mean' and 'understand' helped them to conceptually distinguish between what was said and what was meant and thus helped them to become more aware of the nature of communication.

The second step is the understanding of communicative nature of written language. Francis (1982) argues that children deprived of a literary experience at home might benefit more from a thorough introduction to the understanding of authorship and readership than from reading schemes. That such an approach develops an intimate understanding of literacy is convincingly argued by Graves (1983) who illustrates how the approach can become the cornerstone of a school's writing curriculum.

Conclusion

It is being argued that much of the difficulty faced by children when beginning to read is cognitive in nature; they have problems understanding the reading process itself. Three structural aspects have been identified which contribute to this cognitive confusion:

(a) the nature of the alphabetic script;

(b) the abstract nature of written language;

(c) the obscure communication structure.

It is argued that for each structure two levels can be identified, one at the level of speech and the other at the level of written language. The ability to use speech does not demand an awareness of these structures whereas one of the major problems with literacy is that an explicit awareness of each structure is required as a prerequisite to success. It has thus been argued that the first logical step in the process of learning to read is the development of awareness of those structures at the level of speech. This process requires reflection and thought on the part of the learner.

The argument is not that children cannot develop linguistic awareness through exposure to print. It is more that children who have not developed this awareness of language are faced with an extremely confusing and difficult task. My argument is that the foundations of literacy can be laid before the child lifts a book.

The role of the teacher is central to the development of this linguistic awareness. Because thinking and reflection are the fundamental activities, the teacher much involve herself in dialogue with each learner. It is through dialogue with his teacher that the learner can be brought to an awareness both of the language process and of his own thoughts. Opportunities for reflection must be built into each learning activity.

If reading is taught in this manner then the process of reading becomes itself a powerful tool to the development of cognitive awareness and intellectual control.

REFERENCES

1. Bloomfield, L. (1933). Language. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.

2. Chall, J.S. (1967). Learning to Read: The Great Debate. New York: McGraw-Hill.

3. Donaldson, M. (1978). Children's Minds. London: Fontana.

4. Downing, J. (1973). Comparative Reading. New York: Macmillan.

5. Downing, J. (1979). Reading and Reasoning. London: Chambers.

6. Downing,J and Leong,C.K.,(1982) Psychology of Learning. London: Collier MacMillian.

7. Francis, H. (1982). Learning to Read. London: George Allen & Unwin.

8. Goodman, E. (1967). 'Reading: a psycholinguistic guessing game'. Journal of the Reading Specialist, College Reading Association.

9. Goodman, K. & Goodman, Y. (1979). Learning to Read is Natural. in Resnick & Weaver (ed.). Theory and Practice of Early Reading, Vol. 1.

10. Graves, D. (1983). Writing: Teachers and Children at Work. London: Heinemann Education.

11. Reid, J. (1966). 'Learning to think about reading.' Educational Research, 9, 56-62.

12. Robinson, Goodman & Olson, (1983). Understanding the relation between expressions and intentions. The British Journal of Developmental Psychology, 1, 75-86.

13. Smith,F.,(1978)Reading. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

14. Vygotsky, L. (1967). Thought and Language. M.I.T.Press.

Irish Educational Studies, Vol.3, No.2, 1983.

PEACE EDUCATION: A VALUES DIMENSION

Daniel McQuade

Introduction

Peace education has basically three dimensions:

1. a knowledge orientation
2. a value perspective, and
3. an action orientation.

It is essentially the second dimension - the value dimension - that I wish to focus upon.

In the development of a Peace Education Curriculum the value dimension is of paramount importance. It determines the formulation of aims and indeed the very definition of 'peace'. In the recently completed Peace Education Programme for Irish Primary Schools, "Free To Be", we find ample illustration. While acknowledging the legitimacy of other value perspectives on peace, the concept is there defined in essentially Christian terms.

> Peace is a climate in which every person or group of persons can live the fullness of life which God intended for his creatures. It is a climate in which we respect the rights of others to that fullness of life and are concerned for the well-being of all creation. [1]

Equally it is the Christian value perspective that has determined the formulation of the general and specific aims, content and pedagogical and evaluation strategies of this programme.

The value dimension of a Peace Education programme often demands from the teacher a degree of commitment to the philosophy of the programme. Indeed Peace Education can make rather staggering demands from the teacher. In the opinion of Professor Hermann Rohrs of Ruprecht-Karl University, Heidelberg:

> Peace Education is basically a process of humanisation, of strengthening human character. Where individuals are concerned it means making peace with oneself, by developing a strong sense of identity and learning to be at one with oneself. At the same time this process of making peace with oneself, which is at the centre of all humanistic philosophies, is directly connected to a sense of responsibility for others ... Learning to be at peace is an anthropological problem which needs to be tackled in one's own life. 2

The value perspective in Peace Education is thus essentially concerned with the individual process pattern in education - not just the pupil as an individual but also the teacher as an individual. Both pupil and teacher must come to know their ownselves and cultivate a sense of responsibility for others by enabling others in their turn to come to know themselves.

Equally important in Peace Education there is the structural process pattern. Speaking of the social dimension of Peace Education Professor W.F. Connell declares:

> Much of the teaching associated with education for peace and international understanding has placed stress on the importance of individual development and the exercise of individual rights and freedoms. These are highly desirable objectives, but in the present situation a sole emphasis on them is strategically misplaced... An essential element in the achievement and maintenance of a just peace is a disciplined behaviour in which obligation controls the exercise of right. Such obligation implies social responsibility. Peace education is concerned not primarily with individual activities but with social relations, with the discharge of the obligations one person owes to others. Basically, we are engaged, in this exercise, in laying the attitudinal and

> behavioural foundations for a society of mutual obligation. And it is therefore upon social rather than individual factors that a curriculum in peace education should concentrate. [3]

The main focus of this paper will now centre on the social or structural factors of Peace Education.

The Structural Process Pattern: Education for Social Justice

Subsuming Peace Education under the category of Political Education, Gert Krell[4] of the Peace Research Institute, Frankfort, defines 'peace' and 'social justice' as process patterns with peace referring to a reduction in personal violence and social justice as a reduction of structural violence.

FIGURE 1

"Peace" and "Social Justice" as Process

The Process pattern of peace

manifest personal violence	latent personal violence	decreasing personal violence		absence of personal violence
WAR	"COLD WAR" arms race	CO-EXISTENCE arms control	COOPERATION arms limitated	INTEGRATION disarmament

The process pattern of social justice

manifest structural violence	latent structural violence	decreasing structural violence		absence of structural violence
MASS POVERTY	DEPENDENCE	organized REPRESENTATION OF INTERESTS	social SECURITY	social JUSTICE

It is essential that Peace Education programmes and curricula should be centred around the social justice process as much as the personal peace process. One feels at times that perhaps too much emphasis is placed in Peace Education upon the personal process pattern. The underlying assumption in such a view is that if personal peace is attained in all mankind then structural peace and social justice will follow. Social justice is seen as a by-product of personal peace within all men. In educational terms this view assumes a degree of passivity on the part of the individual pupil. There is an implicit assumption that all that the teacher need do is to provide the environment and the circumstances for the "conversion" to peace to happen. The individual is not seen as an agent of structural change in society. The action orientation of this category of Peace Education is directed primarily upon the individual pupil or teacher.

Reconstructionists in education take an alternative view of the role of education in society. Dewey is the thinker most prominently associated with this perspective. He pictured the school not solely as providing the means by which pupils could be "fit into" the existing society, but also as a laboratory which would provide them with the wherewithall to change society for the better. Schools would not merely transmit culture but would develop in pupils skills and knowledge to advance and renew the culture. In "My Pedagogic Creed" Dewey places faith in his belief that:

> education is the fundamental method of social progress ... a regulation of the process of coming to share in the social consciousness; and that the adjustment of the individual activity on the basis of this social consciousness is the only sure method of social reconstruction. 5

In Dewey's view the educational task of the community school was that of the integration of the cultural values of the various ethnic groups within the USA. In the context of Northern Ireland we have a similar cultural integration problem to which education has to address itself. McKernan has provided us with an analysis of the cultural divisions within Northern Ireland.[6]

FIGURE 2

Cultural Factors Contributing to Divisions in Northern Ireland

RACE	Native Irish/settler. Traditional fear and suspicion. Claims to racial character.
RELIGION	Catholic/Protestant folk religions. Religion used as an index of political allegiance.
LANGUAGE AND CULTURE	Gaelic/English songs, literature dancing, games, folk-lore philosophy, art.
POLITICS	Nationalist/Unionist divisions along socioeconomic lines.
HISTORY	Tribal versions even by historians.
ATTITUDES AND VALUES	Different norms, attitudes, values and beliefs which help to determine behaviour.
SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS	Housing, segregated schools, newspapers, sports.

Of all the various educational ideologies, it is the reconstructionist ideology that offers most scope for cultural integration and social reconstruction in Northern Ireland. Peace educators in Northern Ireland generally acknowledge that this ideology will best help to equip teachers to cope with the problems of a divided community.

The emphasis must be placed upon cultural and structural renewal, creation and development rather than upon cultural and structural preservation and division. Schools must become agencies of social consciousness, analysis and change. Teachers and pupils alike have to become agents of such cultural and structural developments. In structural terms, this is the main function of Peace Education. Professor Connell explains it in these terms:

> Peace education is an important sub-set of the broader category of education for social change. It is not a negative change in the sense that it aims merely to abolish war, outlaw armaments, and prohibit oppressive social institutions. It must be a positive peace which plans and produces concrete improvements in the conditions of human living. 7

It must be remembered, however, that one of the dangers inherent in the reconstructionist ideology is the assumption that the school and the teacher alone can restructure the whole of society without the help of other agencies. Political agencies often have a more direct and powerful role to play in the reconstruction of society. Successive British Governments, for example, have attempted to resturcture aspects of society in Northern Ireland to ensure a greater degree of social justice - power sharing, Fair Employment Agency, local government structures and powers, better housing etc. Successive Irish Governments have offered to restructure Irish society to ensure a greater measure of social justice for Ulster Unionists in a projected New Ireland. Ostensibly the political system in the form of central government has more power to bring about structural change in society than the educational system has in the form of the school. Yet successive agents of the central governments have failed to bring about major structural changes in Irish society. The main cause of the failure lies in the attitudes and values of those who resist these structural changes. And it is here that we return to the values dimension. It is basically the role of the school to attempt to change these obstructive attitudes and values by seeking to identify and challenge them and to provide values and attitudes that will be conducive to a society that is structurally more just. Schools and curricula must provide this opportunity for their pupils and teachers must facilitiate it for the reconstruction of a society that is not only peaceful but also just. The aim of the reconstructionist ideology is not only to provide social cohesion, unity and harmony but also to provide social justice.

It is essentially this concern for social justice that links Peace Education with other areas of the curriculum. Religious Education, Political Education, Development Education etc., focus upon goals and values related to social justice and often, in reconstructionist terms, are committed to social action programmes aimed at changing society in order to improve the quality of living.

What then is the role of the role of the teacher in relation to a Peace Education programme or curriculum based on the concept of justice?

The Role of the Teacher in Peace Education

Values-clarification techniques, through which the teacher helps the pupil to think through values for himself and to build his own set of values, have undoubtedly made a very valuable contribution to the pedagogy of Peace Education. The successes of the Schools Cultural Studies Project at the New University of Ulster are ample illustration of the effectiveness of such strategies. The values clarification approach is a very appropriate pedagogical framework from the reconstructionist perspective. However, my main reservation about this approach in Peace Education is its "Value-relativity" - a values position in itself. To effectively use the approach in Peace Education the teacher must renounce his values neutrality and actively promote pre-social and non-violent values. In emphasising the necessity of learning constructive alternatives to aggression and violence, the teacher must proclaim that these alternatives constitute more desirable values than violence and aggression. The justification for such a values position on the part of the teacher is not inherent in this approach but must be sought elsewhere. Justification is often given in terms of a general societal values consensus. Indeed most individuals in our complex societies probably subscribe to a conformist values system. The danger here is that in a society, that is increasingly progressive and pluralistic, individuals whose basic values justification is conformity to authority or laws cannot judge the true meaning of social change: they will tend to shift their views and values in accordance with those of aurthoritative leaders instead of making their own judgements based on the principle of social justice. Undoubtedly the issues of peace, violence and war are complex and will not be fully understood by those who are mere proponents or followers of conformist thinking. The aim of Peace Education has no place for such conformist thinking. In the words of Professor Connell the aim of Peace Education is

> ... to teach students, in Freire's words, 'to grasp with their minds the truth of their reality', to deal critically and creatively with it, and to 'participate in the transformation of their world'. It is an effort to build through education a climate of social reconstruction throughout society which will eventually build up sufficient impetus to become the new reality. 8

The dangers of a Peace Education Curriculum or programme based on a conformist values system are equally apparent for Political Education curricula or programmes. R. Freeman Butts has outlined a set of ten "value-oriented" concepts as an intellectual framework for the design of Civic Education programmes and curricula for American schools. Consideration of these ten concepts, I feel, is as important to the development of Peace Education as they are to Civic or Political Education. Justification of social reconstruction must be given in terms of the true forms and not the corrupted forms of the democratic values.

FIGURE 3

A Decalogue of Democratic Civic Values for the Schools*
(with apologies to Moses and Aristotle)

Corrupted Forms	True Forms of Unum	True Forms of Pluribus	Corrupted Forms
'Law and order'	Justice	Freedom	Anarchy
Enforced sameness and conformity	Equality	Diversity	Unstable pluralism
Authoritariansim	Authority	Privacy	Privatism
"Majoritarianism"	Participation	Due process	"Soft on criminals"
Chauvinism	Personal obligation for the public good	International human rights	'Cultural imperialsim

Cosmopolitan Civism Stable Pluralism

Pluralistic Civism

*R.Freeman Butts, The Revival of Civic Learning: A Rationale for Citizenship Education in American Schools (Bloomington, Ind: Phi Delta Kappa, 1980).

The value concepts are divided into two main types viz. (1) those that primarily promote desirable cohesive and unifying elements in a democratic society and (2) those that primarily promote desirable pluralistic and individualistic elements in a democratic society. There is continuous tension and often conflict between the values of the unum (the common good) and the pluribus (the individual good), yet civic education must, as in any democratic society strive to promote and honour both and maintain the balance between them. The corrupted forms of the values are described in terms comparable to Kohlberg's conventional level of thought whereas the true forms are comparable to Kohlberg's post-conventional level. Concerning the ten concepts R. Freeman Butts declares:

> It will be obvious that these are normative concepts, each with extensive histories of scholarly analysis, controversial interpretation, and conflicting practice. But they are the very stuff of our common political life, and they should be confronted directly and explicitly as appropriate to the age and capacity of students. 9

With this reference to the developmental treatment of the concepts, consideration may now be given to the contribution that Kohlberg's views might make to Peace Education. Kohlberg identified six stages of development in moral judgement. The stages are invariant, i.e. they occur in a fixed order, each stage based on the previous stage and none of which can be skipped. Kohlberg's cross cultural studies also claim to have established this invariance to be common to all cultures. The stages are:

I Pre-Conventional Level

Stage 1: Orientation toward punishment, deference to superior power. Physical consequences of action regardless of human meaning or action.

Stage 2: Right action is that which satisfies one's own needs, sometimes others'.

II Conventional Level

Stage 3: Good boy-good girl. Good behaviour is that which pleases or helps others and is approved by then. Seeking approval by being "nice" to others.

Stage 4: Orientation toward authority. Right is doing one's duty, showing respect for authority, maintaining the social order for its own sake.

III Principled Level (Post-Conventional)

Stage 5: Social Contract. Right is defined in terms of general rights and in terms of standards which have been critically examined and agreed on by the whole society.

Stage 6: Orientation toward decisions of conscience and self-chosen ethical principles appealing to logical comprehensiveness, universality, and consistency. The principles are abstract and ethical (the Golden Rule, the categorical imperative)

Obviously in such a short summary I cannot hope to do full justice to the intricacies of Kohlberg's complex theoretical treatment of moral development. For my present purpose it is perhaps enough to stress one point that is very relevant - the final or "highest stage" represents the theoretically "ideal" endpoint of development. As an individual progressively develops from childhood to adulthood,his way of reasoning about issues develops through the series of stages towards the highest stage that may or may not be reached. It is only those individuals who reach this level of moral development who can make judgements and decisions that take into account a complex conceptualisation of the world's problems. Those at the conventional level of moral judgment have difficulty thinking through complex highly differentiated problems of peace in the world. They prefer to wait for guidance from authoritative leaders but unfortunately there is no guarantee that such leaders themselves have progressed beyond this conventional level.

Conventional moral reasoning for Kohlberg is not a satisfactory long-term goal for the majority of citizens in a democracy. The conventional individual, for example, believes in obeying and upholding the law as an end in itself whereas the post-conventional person believes society's laws are merely rules of conduct designed for the protection of fundamental rights and the welfare of its makers. Such rights are in turn based on the universal principle of justice. For the conventional person, the law is right simply because it is the law: there is no confusion or conflict between the legal and the moral. On the other hand, for the post-conventional person the law is right if [illegible] is just: the moral is differentiated from and considered to be superordinate to the legal. The post-conventional person believes in changing any law that is contrary to the principle of justice and hence to the welfare of society's citizens. It is the post-conventional citizen rather than the conventional who is essential for the development and maintenance of a just and free society. The post-conventional person makes his judgments on the basis of abstract justice and even though Kohlberg concludes that persons who make all or most of their decisons are usually not tolerated by the rest of society (he cites Jesus, Gandhi and King as examples), his work is a source of optimism in that it suggests that the human capacities for abstract reasoning and analysis may in fact be further developed to much higher levels than was previously thought.

Kohlberg's research suggests that in the USA the "critical period" for the transition from conventional moral reasoning is late adolescence to early adulthood (ages 16 to 20). Those adolescents who do not begin to use at least some Stage 5 moral reasoning during this period may fixate at the conventional level thus making it more difficult to progress to the post-conventional level at a later age. A major goal for moral education is to prevent such a fixation. Fenton[10] in his research into the implications of Kohlberg's work for Civic Education found that Stages 5 and 6 were reached only by a small minority of the adult population, with only 10 to 15 per cent reaching Stage 5 in their late teens or early twenties and indeed only a few people reach Stage 6 at all and those who do may be older than 30 years. Stage 3 may be reached as early as nine years of age, but usually later, with Stage 4 reached by middle or late adolescence.

Such research findings have far reaching implications for the teacher. The secondary school teacher will basically be teaching pupils only a few of whom (mainly in the Sixth Form) will reach the post-conventional level. However, this does not mean that the concept of justice and other related value-oriented concepts should not be dealt with in the classroom. Kohlberg believes that the role of the teacher is to teach justice and not about justice. I believe that in most instances we must settle for the latter. W.F. Connell presents a framework for a secondary curriculum in Peace Education which is based on a philosophy of social change and includes the treatment of social justice and other related concepts. It is

(i) Human relations. e.g. co-operation and competition, group dynamics, nature of negotiation, community participation, moral and social obligations.

(ii) Analyses of social institutions, structures, and structural change, e.g. structures of governments of different kinds, social class, social and economic institutions within communities and across communities, nationality and nation states, news media, international organisations.

(iii) Analysis of ideas and social policies, e.g. social justice, peace, power, development, the making of public policy, international law.

(iv) Analysis of conflict and conflict mediation, e.g. history of modern war, class struggle, revolution, character of aggression, nature of present conflicts, methods of mediation.

(v) The planning of non-violent social change e.g. equality of opportunity, mass participation, creative role of education, positive outcomes of social change. 11

If the critical period for the transition from conventional to post-conventional thought is that of late adolescence to early adulthood, then I feel that it is essential that further and higher education should in every way possible facilitate this transition. This is particularly so for teacher education if we are to provide teachers who will become authoritative leaders of our pupils - authoritative leaders not confined by the limitations of conventional thought patterns. This view of the role of the teacher is very much in harmony with that of Dewey when he declared that "... every teacher should realise the dignity of his calling: that he is a social servant set apart for the maintenance of proper social order and the securing of the right social growth."[12]

Conclusion

Circular 1982/21 of the Department of Education of Northern Ireland spells out the duties of teachers and educationists in Northern Ireland in relation to the contribution that the schools can make in the improvement of community relations in the province. In this respect the circular is an acknowledgement of the reconstructionist ideology. Teacher education in Northern Ireland has a major role to play in helping teachers meet their responsibilities in this area. Pre-service and in-service courses on Peace Education are an important first step in this direction. Such courses must familiarise student-teachers and teachers with the various teaching materials available. Furthermore the value dimension of such courses must be thoroughly examined. In teaching Peace Education some teachers may prefer to follow value-clarification strategies, others may prefer the teaching strategies of Kohlberg's approach to moral education. Irrespective of what personal preference individual teachers may have in relation to teaching strategies, I feel that it is of the greatest importance that all teachers become imbued with a sense of social consciousness and a vision of social justice that are so essential to the philosophy of reconstructionism. It is the task of teacher education to develop within teachers a social consciousness that will make them sensitive to the concrete issues of social injustice on both a national and international level.

Teachers are ideally placed within society not only to increase their pupils' awareness of social injustice but also develop within them the necessary motivation to change the structures of their society when they function upon disturbed values. The school must provide future citizens, whose role will be not just to fit into the existing social order but rather to become non-violent agents of change intent on making their society more just and more humane and hence more peaceful. Peace thus truly becomes the work of justice.

REFERENCES

1. Free To Be, Primary Schools Peace Education Programme, Irish Council of Churches. (Dublin: Irish Commission for Justice and Peace, 1983).

2. Quoted in M. Skilbeck and H. Connell, 'The Role of Education in Developed and Developing Countries for International Understanding and Peace: Definitions, Needs, Objectives and Barriers to Overcome', The New Era, Vol.63, No. 6, 1982, p.112.

3. W.F. Connell, 'Curriculum for Peace Education', The New Era, Vol.64, No. 1, 1983, p.14.

4. Gert Krell, 'Politics and Didactics of Peace Education: Securing Peace in the Nuclear Age - The Case of the Neutron Weapon, International Journal of Political Education, Vol.3, No. 1, 1980, pp.17-31.

5. John Dewey, 'My Pedagogic Creed' in R.D. Archambault (ed.), John Dewey on Education. (New York: Modern Library, 1964), pp.427-39.

6. J. McKernan, 'Cultural Studies and Values Education: The Role of the Teacher', Proceedings of Education Conference, University College, Galway, Ireland, 1976, pp.7-11.

7. W. Connell, 'Curriculum for Peace Education', p.15.

8. Ibid., p.15.

9. R. Freeman Butts, 'Curriculum for the Educated Citizen', Educational Leadership, Vol.38, No.1, 1980, pp.6-8.

10. E. Fenton, 'The implications of Lawrence Kohlberg's research for civic education', in F. Brown (ed.), Education for Responsible Citizenship, (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1977), pp.97-132.

11. Connell, Curriculum for Peace Education, p.18.

12. Dewey, 'My Pedagogic Creed'.

Irish Educational Studies, Vol.3, No.2, 1983.

EVALUATION OF NORTHERN IRELAND MANAGEMENT EDUCATION PROGRAMME

Anne T. O'Shea

INTRODUCTION

This paper gives a summary account of an evaluation of the first two years of a management education programme for principals of both grammar and secondary schools in Northern Ireland. The programme, which was under the direction of a senior member of the Department's Inspectorate, took the form of two one-week residential study conferences interspersed with one or two-day events. The evidence for the evaluation derives from the first four courses in the programme.

Surprisingly little information exists as to what effects various kinds of inservice training actually have on teaching and schools. Up to the 1970's scarcely any effort was made to determine the efficiency or otherwise of inservice training programmes. The James Report (1972) drew particular attention to the absence of research evidence which might indicate:

> "What effects various kinds of post-experience training actually have on teaching and the teacher; how long these effects last; what are the most appropriate kinds of education to accomplish ends which may be quite different for different individuals and what effects on the schools themselves the in-service education of their staff has. One could think of many more questions to which we badly need answers."

Since that time there has been a number of research studies of various forms of inservice provision, many of them in the form of unpublished theses which have gone largely unheeded. Rudduck (1981) quotes some findings from three such studies which provided interesting insights into the strengths and weaknesses of short courses inservice provision. Where inservice courses of management education are concerned, little research has been done on their efficiency or otherwise in the U.K. Centres such as the North West Educational Management Centre in Padgat, Cheshire, seek for immediate feedback from participants on their courses as well as engaging in continual critical observation and informal evaluation of the entire training programme. This is the more usual form of evaluation of inservice training programme, based as it is on the immediate experience and assessments of participants. Esp (1981) has given an account of a more ambitious form of evaluation which is currently being undertaken in Sweden, where the 'School Leader Programme' is being evaluated over a five year period. As well as the immediate assessment of the programme by participants, efforts are being made to gauge the longer term effects of such programmes in schools.

The Swedish evaluation intends to look at several aspects of the school, including the decision-making process, working arrangements and routines, communications, sub-groups, power centres and relations between pupils and staff. This evaluation is planned on the basis that the development process works slowly and that it may take several years to see any effects. A major problem with this type of longer term evaluation is that the influence of factors other than training is bound to distort the picture considerably. Another method of evaluation which has been attempted in Sweden has been that of two training teams assessing each other's courses (Esp. ibid).

THE MANAGEMENT EDUCATION PROGRAMME

In February 1980 the Department of Education in Northern Ireland initiated a programme of management education for principals and senior staff in post-primary schools. A senior member of the inspectorate was commissioned by the Department to assume responsibility for the organisation and running of an inservice programme of study conferences in management education similar to those being run in the North West Centre for Management Education, Padgate in Cheshire. To assist and advise him in the task he set up a Steering Group of seven members drawn from different sectors of the education system and with a sufficient representation of practising principals. The conferences were to be residential and would consist of one week at the beginning of a school term and another at the end linked, by intervening meetings. The three main elements in each study conference were:

(i) a core of lectures to enunciate the theory underlying different aspects of school management;

(ii) intensive discussion in small groups; sometimes the discussion was used to tease out the practical implications of lecture content; sometimes case-studies or video material were used as a basis for discussion.

(iii) less frequently plenary sessions were held in which the full conference membership together with group leaders and lecturers took part.

Membership in any study conference was limited to a maximum of thirty. A significant feature of the conference membership was the inclusion of three or four persons other than principals or vice-principals to represent other dimensions of the education service - DENI* inspectorate. Area Board* advisors or education officers, representatives of other statutory or voluntary bodies currently involved in the management of schools.

---

*Department of Education, Northern Ireland.

A typical first residential week incorporated a broad survey of the following issues:

The Changing Role of the Principal
Leadership Styles
Aims and Objectives
Staff Development

Each of these topics was likely to be the subject of a key lecture, which was usually followed by group discussion. The treatment of each topic was sufficiently general to be relevant to principals in different types of secondary school - grammar or secondary. The problematic issues associated with each topic were teased out in group discussion as well as in informal conversation during meals and free time.

The one or two day sessions which occurred in the interval between the two residential weeks were devoted to such topics as:

The Teacher and the Law
The Role of the Secondary Advisor
The Role of the Inspectorate
Staff Selection and Interviewing
Schools and Area Boards

Speakers who were considered to have expertise in these or similar areas were invited to treat of these topics and be available to lead discussion on related matters.

The final residential week was usually devoted to an intensive study of the curriculum. This included coverage of curriculum philosophy and design, the effective deployment of resources, both human and material, and the distribution of time. Different curriculum models were examined and an opportunity was given to debate their advantages and weaknesses. The latter part of the second residential week was devoted to the question of evaluation both of the school and the curriculum and included a perspective on the examination system.

---

*Area Education and Library Board - approximately equivalent to LEA in Britain.

THE EVALUATION PROGRAMME

In March 1980 the Department of Education requested the Northern Ireland Council for Educational Research to undertake a formative evaluation of the Department's programme of training in educational management. The request was accepted by the Research Council and it was agreed that the evaluation should extend over a two-year period and that it should involve a full-time research worker in the following activities.

1. Membership of the Steering Group and the monitoring of its work.
2. Attendance at and evaluation of all study-conferences by:
   (i) preparation and analysis of evaluation questionnaires;
   (ii) observation of plenary and group sessions as well as attendance at all lectures;
   (iii) follow-up visits to schools from which participants came;
   (iv) a brief report on each study-conference.
3. A written evaluation report of the programme at the end of a two-year period.

In September 1980 an evaluation panel representative of both the Research Council and the DENI Management Steering Group was set up to monitor the evaluation programme. The role of the panel was designated as follows:

(a) to give advice and support to the researcher carrying out the evaluation;

(b) to discuss problems and monitor the flow of information with regard to the evaluation;

(c) to receive interim reports from the researcher.

The evaluation was conceived as a two phase programme. Initially, it would seek to provide course organisers with an ongoing critique of the programme based on course observation and feedback from participants. The second phase of the exercise was to be concerned with gaining a longer term perspective on the value to participants of the management conferences in terms of the impact they had on role performance after their return to the job. In this second phase of the exercise it was hoped that the data gleaned from interviews and questionnaires would add to our understanding of the management training needs of principals and senior staff and that this knowledge could, in due course, be fed back into the planning of the programme.

METHODOLOGY OF EVALUATION

The initial phase of the evaluation in relation to each study conference entailed continual observation of what was going on in the programme. This involved attendance at and observation of all planning meetings as well as conference events. The methods used to collect data were participant observation, completion of evaluation schedules and some interviewing. Data for the second phase of the evaluation derived mainly from interviews with participants, supplemented by some questionnaire responses.

Participant Observation: In most evaluation exercises the evaluator remains outside the programme and aims at neutrality in relation to any decisions taken. At the outset of the management training programme it was decided that the evaluator should be a full member of the Steering Group responsible for the development and planning of the programme. This enabled the evaluator to be part of the decision-making process. In addition to observing others and recording their responses to the demands and constraints of the situation it allowed her to record her own response to the programme as it developed. It allowed opportunities to talk to all other participants - programme planners, course members and lecturers alike. Each informant's perspective - whether trainer, group leader or course member - was important in building a clearer picture of the programme.

Evaluation Schedules: At the beginning of each study conference, course members were invited to participate in the evaluation of the programme by giving their individual assessment of different aspects of the conference together with an indication of its impact on themselves in relation to their role as school principals. The evaluator recognised that each of these schedules represented the participant's picture of the programme as he saw it and in the form in which he was willing to transmit it at a particular time and in a particular context. She did not see them as representing objective reality but rather the individual participant's perception of reality moderated by his/her cognitive and affective reactions to the situation at a particular point in time. She also recognised that this perspective might change over time as the participant moved further and further away from the conference experience.

Interviewing: To supplement participant observation and the completion of protocols the interview was used with both programme planners and participants as another channel of information about the programme. It seemed important to give each member of the Steering Group an opportunity to express an individual opinion about the way in which the programme was planned. Semi-structured or open-ended interviews with Steering Group members sought to elicit views about the programme as it was actually planned as well as alternatives which were rejected without sufficient consideration.

The interview was also used in the second stage of the evaluation as a means of getting term perspective on the programme from participants. Conference participants were encouraged to express themselves on matters which were significant to them rather than those which the evaluator presumed to be important.

Questionnaires: The questionnaire was used only with participants in the third conference. Questions were similar to those used in interviewing, with a few additional probes designed to encourage respondents to be genuinely critical of the conferences in terms of the way topics were dealt with or perhaps omitted altogether. Open rather than closed questions were used with a view to encouraging the expression of differences of perceptions and reaction of which the course organisers or the evaluator might have been unaware. In general, it would be true to say that where responses were individual and idiosyncratic they were regarded as significant sources of insight rather than as a sound basis for modification of strategy; where the responses were fairly uniform they had to be clearly registered with course organisers.

THE EVALUATION PROCESS AND THE ROLE OF THE EVALUATOR

One of the basic principles underlying the evaluation programme has been the desire to emphasise the continuity and mutuality of concern between programme participants and organisers, the DENI, the Evaluation Panel and the evaluator. An evaluation of this type of programme can only articulate and share understandings about how the programme was planned and implemented by reference to the aims of the providers, the perceived needs of the participants, the contraints of circumstances and the available opportunities. It can relate these understandings to the perspectives and views of the programme audience and thus maintain an ongoing conversation between providers and clients. This evaluation, therefore, had as its main aim to contribute to programme improvement both directly and indirectly, directly by the evaluator's interaction with programme planners and indirectly by feeding back and highlighting various facets of the interaction between programme planners and their audience. By bringing these perspectives into contact with one another on a regular basis and keeping the lines of communication open across the boundaries of the programme, it was hoped that a clearer perception would be reached about how principals of schools can best be supported as well as challenged by inservice training. It was also hoped that programme planners would gain insight into the more successful teaching/learning methodologies for senior administators and into the kind of interaction process which is most likely to generate fresh thinking and new approaches as well as lead to personal growth and development.

This evaluation exercise was therefore a limited one and it would be inappropriate to draw far reaching conclusions from it. From the outset it was clearly stated that, where evaluation was concerned, it was the course itself which was under scrutiny and not the impact of the programme on participants in terms of post-conference activity in the schools. Such an intent necessitated a process rather than a product evaluation; it meant that the purpose of the exercise was course improvement rather than assessment of results. To evaluate the conferences in terms of their impact on school organisation and classroom learning would be a much more labour intensive and costly exercise. In a climate where courses themselves attract insufficient finance, it is difficult to envisage extra resources being committed to such evaluation. Nevertheless, at a time of growing concern for accountability, it would appear to be inevitable that inservice training will have to show that it is giving value for money. One approach to such a task, which derives from the experience of evaluating this programme, might be to bring conference participants more closely into collaboration with the entire exercise and allow them to become partners in the task of course evaluation and concomitantly in evaluation of their own performance. Experience in Europe would appear to indicate that there is a growing tendency to allow heads to have a part in planning their own training. In France, the Rennes Academie has developed procedures for negotiating course content with trainers and in other European programmes which encourage participants to initiate development projects in their own schools there is an attempt to meet individual needs (Esp, 1980). The study conferences being evaluated in this report, by their very nature, could not match content to individual needs. It may be that this is a further stage of development of a habit of collaborative evaluation as well as collaborative planning.

SOME CONCLUSIONS

One of the major problems for a programme of this nature is linking the experience of the conference with the routines of everyday life in schools. It would appear from principals' submissions that a relatively short inservice programme such as membership of a study conference should not be regarded as sufficient to effect substantial changes in principals' day-to-day management of schools. If substantial development or change in the system is the aim of the course, then participants' interests and energies should probably be engaged prior to the course through some such exercise as an analysis of needs in their own situation. This should enable them to relate the learning experience of the conference more precisely to their own situation. They should also leave the conference with a plan of action and a sufficient understanding of the strategies required to enable them to continue the task of development, even in the face of difficulties and unforeseen constraints when they are back among the daily pressures of their own school. There was scant evidence in the evaluation data of concrete proposals for action and, even where these were adumbrated, the problems of 'know-how' or implementation strategy remained acute. Pleas for follow-up, support and further training were many. Attendance at a conference by a team (or at least two persons) from a school was one suggestion which was supported as a means of facilitating a better transfer from course theory to school practice. Such an approach to management training appears to have had considerable success in Norway, where the main thrust of the programme concentrates on initiating an innovation process at the individual school level while at the same time providing leadership training externally for the head and at least one other teacher from the school (NAHT 1982). The Northern Ireland programme organisers were not in a position to mobilise such an infrastructure of support for individual principals.

However, there was ample evidence that the programme did much to break down the isolation of heads and to put them in touch with a range of ideas and concepts relating to the management of schools. In a residential setting heads found that they learned from colleagues as well as from the formal conference programme. They would, therefore, welcome opportunities to meet more frequently with colleagues whom they perceive as having the clearest understanding of the problems which daily confront them. Given that principals are quick to appreciate that their social and personal needs have been adequately met, the climate which pervades an inservice training event should not be underestimated. The conferences provided an oasis from which the ordinary pressures of time and responsibility were excluded. In the residential setting they were able to learn from one another as well as from the programme, to confirm one another in their strengths and perhaps learn alternative strategies for the solution of problems which seemed insuperable prior to the conference.

The evidence from the evaluation also showed that if principals are expected to initiate and sustain changes in their schools, they need training in interpersonal skills, staff development skills, the handling of conflict and the management of change. Their vice-principals, senior teachers and heads of department also require training in management responsibility and role understanding. Finally, there was evidence that principals would welcome a permanent support structure such as that of a staff college which could respond to their expressed needs by way of resources, consultancy, residential courses of various kinds and meetings for specific purposes. Such a structure would facilitate the provision of an organised system of inservice support and training at different stages of a head teacher's career - on entry to the job, some years afterwards and at times of major developments. The evidence from the evaluation also showed that the programme had served to boost the confidence of principals, to enhance awareness of their managerial role, to provide insights into alternative ways of tackling problems and generally to renew enthusiasm for and interest in the job. Only time and further research can determine whether principals were really enabled to carry through to the real world of the school and classroom the plans and intentions generated in the supportive atmosphere of the conferences.

In conclusion, there was a positive attitude towards the evaluation, both on the part of programme organisers and participants. This was evidenced by the high response rate in terms of completed evaluation schedules and in the manifest readiness of participants to openly discuss their experience in the subsequent interviews. It would seem that the approach promoted a habit of collaborative evaluation in which organisers and participants took a shared interest in the progress of the conferences. It may be that positive attitudes towards evaluation are more easily developed when course organisers work as a team on a series of conferences where they have regular opportunities for dialogue and constructive criticism of their own operations. It may also be that participants like to be consulted on the extent to which provision matches their individual needs, especially when there is evidence that serious consideration will be given to their views.

REFERENCES

Department of Education and Science (1972). *Teacher Education and Training* (The James Report). London: HMSO.

Esp, D. (1980). 'Selection and Training of Secondary School Senior Staff: Some European Examples'. *Education*, 17th October, 1980.

Esp, D. (1981). 'Report on the Selection and Training of Headteachers in Sweden'. MIMEO. available from Somerset County Council.

NAHT (National Association of Head Teachers) (1982). Training for Heads in Europe. Report of a conference held at Gatwick, March 1982.

Rudduck, J. (1981). *Making the Most of the Short Inservice Course*. Schools Council Working Paper No. 71. London: Methuen Educational.

O'Shea, A.T. (1983). *Management in Secondary Education*. Belfast: Northern Ireland Council for Educational Research.

Irish Educational Studies, Vol.3, No.2, 1983.

PROBLEMS AND TRENDS IN COMPUTER BASED EDUCATION

John A. O'Connell

Introduction

Developments in computer technology in the last twenty years have led to the purchase of computers by many of our educational establishments. Many courses have been developed to teach students about computers and how to apply computer technology in commerce, administration, industry and research. Since the 1960s some educationalists have become interested in investigating the possible uses of the versatile computer in assisting the processes of learning and teaching. This paper might well be entitled, "The Rise, Fall and possible Resurgence of interest in Computer Based Education". (CBE).

Influences from the Past

The growth in the use of computers in education was stimulated by major projects and was influenced by some unique individuals. A selection of the more famous projects follows.

Stanford Institute of Mathematics started a computer-based education project in 1962. Suppes and Atkinson headed this project which applied the computer to the teaching of Mathematics, Reading, Slavonic Languages and Music.

University of Illinois and the Control Data Corporation, with the support of the National Science Foundation, began work on the PLATO project in 1959. This has been the most expensive project to date and it has brought the production of CBE materials to an advanced level where the end product can be successfully marketed in a commercial environment. Earlier versions of PLATO used special Multi-Media workstations controlled by a large central computer. Recently subsets of PLATO have been marketed for use on the micro-computers which are now available in many Irish Schools.

Educational Technology Centre at the University of California where Alfred Bork has worked since 1970. He has concentrated on developing computer based material for teaching undergraduate Physics[1] where the student could explore a "controllable world". Simulation techniques were used to allow students to experience and manipulate models of real life situations that could not be created safely or at reasonable cost using other existing facilities.

United Kingdom: Many interesting projects were brought together by the NCPCAL programme in the United Kingdom from 1973 to 1978.[2] Bob Lewis and Peter Smith were among a group of outstanding contributers to the Computers in the Undergraduate Science Curriculum (CUSC) project and the Schools Council Project supported by the Council for Educational Technology (CET).

Currently the Micro-electronic Education Program (MEP) is supporting many developments in the CBE area. Other notable systems that emerged from the work in the United Kingdom were the CALCHEM project which produced modules for use in Physical Chemistry and the CICERO project which was used extensively by the Open University to improve student feedback.

MIT - LOGO Group: Seymour Papert set out to use computers to create a new learning experience for children.[3] He was not concerned with vocational computing or with CBE as previously envisaged. He saw teachers using LOGO to create an environment of natural learning which would have no threshold or no ceiling. His work has received much publicity and has attracted its share of critics. However, some mathematics teachers have been encouraged to use the "Turtle Graphics and Floor Turtles" associated with LOGO in teaching mathematical concepts.

Types of CBE[4]

The above projects have given rise to some significant educational material of various types.

Drill and Practice: The computer is transparent to the student. He is presented with the same or very similar questions repetitively until his responses indicate mastery at that level.

Any teacher could do this but the computer could be useful because of it's inherent patience, convenience and impersonality.

Tutorial: This is frequently referred to in the U.K. as Computer Assisted Learning (CAL) and in the U.S.A. as Computer Assisted Instruction (CAI) or Substitute CAL.

This is much more ambitious. The computer is used to present material to the student. Having evaluated the student's responses to various questions on the material presented earlier the computer selects new or remedial material for the student to study. The main problems with tutorial CAL are concerned with course structure and the evaluation of student responses. While this technique has had some success in skill development courses for Industry and Commerce its application to general Education as a form of lecture substitution needs much more research.

Simulation: This is sometimes referred to as Supplementary CAL or Laboratory CAL and would include the work of Bork described earlier.

In Laboratory CAL the computer uses a mathematical model built into a computer program to simulate physical systems found in Physics, Chemistry, Biology and Geography. Both time dependent and inference models are used.

The essential characteristic of such systems is that the student is allowed to explore the model rapidly and efficiently by changing various parameters on request. The concepts underlying such models are usually discussed in class before and after the student uses the computer model. These systems have been found to enrich the learning that the student achieves. The main problem is to design a package that can be integrated into existing courses and that demands non-trivial input so that the student can use his previous knowledge productively.

Management: This is sometimes referred to as Computer Managed Instruction (CMI) or Computer Adaptive Testing (CAT).

In CMI, learning takes place away from the computer, while the computer scores tests, interprets results, advises the student what to do next and manages student records and other information. Three problems persist in CMI systems. One is the difficulty in breaking a course down into modules and the creation of pools of graded questions for each module. The second is the Computer generation of study prescriptions based on the tests completed. The third is the security of the vast amounts of personal data collected on each individual student.

Problems that led to the Decline of Interest in CBE

Despite exaggerated claims and the optimism of the early years the major shifts towards CBE forecast at that time have not yet taken place for a combination of reasons. Some of these problems will be overcome in the next decade.

Inexperience: Those involved underestimated the magnitude of the task they were undertaking. Indications are that they misunderstood the economics of the technology they were trying to use. Many had a poor understanding of the dynamics of the educational environment where they wished to introduce this new technology.

Cost of Hardware: Up to 1980 the cost of computer hardware was excessive and many projects tried to do too much with too little equipment. Micro-computers have brought about a major improvement in this area and costs will continue to fall during the 1980s as micro-computers make computing accessible to millions.

Hardward Instability: Until recently computer equipment was unreliable, bulky and expensive to maintain. The newer micros are reliable, portable and very powerful compared with the microcomputers of ten years ago. As such we can now bring reasonably robust intelligent stand alone units into the classroom.

Failure of computer hardward during public demonstrations defeated many enthusiastic teachers.

System Instability: Many of the earlier systems used large computers controlled by complex Control Programs and supporting many users simultaneously. In many cases the user was linked to the large computer by unstable communications facilities such as the public switched network. When the Central Computer Control Program or the communication facilities failed the user was unable to use the system. Powerful microcomputers have less complex more stable Control Programs and their cost [illegible] the need for many users to share one computer over the public telephone system.

Courseware: This is the main problem area at present. Courseware is the actual package used by the student or the teacher. There is a lack of courseware in large enough quantities and at acceptable levels of quality. A certain "Critical Mass" of courseware must be available before CBE can really begin to show its usefulness. Much of what is available is the product of a new cottage industry which has emerged with the growth of micro-computers. Some studies indicate that as much as 95 per cent of this material is of poor quality or games oriented.

Related to the problem of poor quality courseware are the problems of recognition of courseware development as a legitimate activity.[5]

At second level, teachers are rarely given free time to develop courses or materials for courses, nor are there reward mechanisms for those who do such work in their own time. At University level there are active disencentives for engaging in such activities rather than in "legitimate" research. I would like to appeal to the members of the Educational Studies Association of Ireland to give this matter urgent consideration.

My main concern is in the area of "Tutorial CAL". Some of the existing packages do a little more than ape the activities of good teachers and many do far less. If we can do no better than "page turning" or emulate the old "teaching machines" we should perhaps forget these applications and concentrate on the areas where the computer can perform a real function of which a human teacher is incapable, e.g. simulation.

Teacher Training: Very few teachers have had substantial exposure to computers and many have had none at all. There is a lack of appropriate in-service and pre-service training. All in all the situation in Ireland adds up to a hotch potch of sometimes substandard courses that lack a real life foundation on which to base future developments.

In times of educational cut-backs, in-service training is often one of the first things to suffer.

Teacher training is not equipped to cope with a changing subject in a changing world. Many teachers are left with a natural aversion or fear of a rapidly changing technology which they see as challenging their role or status.[6]

Teachers need to know how to select and "drive" suitable packages for their own subject areas. Most suffer from "sticky fingers" because of their inadequate keyboard skills when they try to use their computers in pubic. The result can be embarrassing and the effect on students may be negative.

Integration: Successful CBE has always been properly integrated into the course in which it is used. This requires the support of all the academic staff in the relevant department. The introduction of innovations into a conservative area will have administrative, political and operational consequences which should be measured and discussed before starting. The time required to restructure courses and timetables may be substantial. Experience shows that it is difficult to involve the brightest academics in curriculum development work which is rarely recognised by promotions boards.

Advantages of CBE

Despite the problems outlined above the use of good CBE systems has had many advantages both direct and indirect. Some examples follow:

Independent evaluation of the CUSC project in the U.K. indicates that students improved their understanding of the topics covered. Their ability to interpret statistics and graphs was improved. Students felt that they learnt more by finding their own strategy for manipulating a particular model. This in turn encouraged them to study their lecture notes and text books. Generally it was believed to have led to a greater ability to visualise the subject and to an increase in intuitive understanding.

The Physics department of the Florida State University found that those students who used various CAL packages needed 17 per cent less instructional time than those who only attended traditional lectures. These students also scored higher in final examinations and attained superior conceptual mastery.

Many medical schools use a life-like computer controlled model to teach Anaesthesiology. This combination of an inference model with time dependent features has reduced both the cost and the extent of subsequent field work.

The Chicago City Schools Project was begun in 1971 by Suppes and Atkinson. One aspect of this project was an attempt to improve the reading skills of 12,000 fourth to eight grade students. The reading ability of these students was increasing at the rate of 5.4 months per pupils for each ten months of regular classroom instruction. Using computer tutorials the average increased to 9.0 months improvement per 8 months of Instruction. These results were verified by the National Institute of Education and the National Testing Service.

Many educational establishments have been impressed by the side effects of using CBE. It has removed the fear of computers and it is seen as a way of preparing those students who will not be studying Computer Science to live in the "Information Age". When the micro-processor has become as common-place as television sets those who have not learned to use the computer as a tool will be as functionally illiterate as those who have difficulty with reading and writing today.

The Resurgence of Interest in CBE

There is a noticeable resurgence in the level of CBE activity during the last three years. This resurgence was brought about by the increase of micro-computers whose price performance ratio continues to improve dramatically. Computer hardware is now more reliable, smaller, cheaper and more powerful than ever before.

This resurgence is more effective than earlier efforts because it is tending to adopt certain principles and ideas based on the experience gained in the past.

When to use CBE: CBE should only be used to solve a specific instructional problem where it can provide a unique solution or compare favourably with other media.

How to use CBE: Any proposal to use CBE should have the support of department head and a number of teachers. The user or target audience must be clearly identified. The usage of the package should be spread over a period. The use of the package must be mandatory rather than optional. Records must be kept to support evaluation procedures.

How to identify good Courseware: The package used should be educationally sound. It must be relevant to the students' needs and appropriate for his learning objectives. It must contribute to the learning process and it must be stable when field tested.[7] It should be easy to use and not require any knowledge of computers. It should be "bullet proof" or capable of withstanding a hyperactive teenager banging all the keys at the same time. The user instructions should be screen based, clear, concise and in a standard format. Following these guidelines will not guarantee success but failure to do so will guarantee problems.

How to Evaluate a CBE Package: On receipt of the material the author's objectives must be checked. The teacher should check that he has the correct computer, operating system, peripherals and machine characteristics for running the package. The teacher should then use the package in three modes - as a bright student who uses the package intelligently, as a difficult student who tries to deliberately crash the package and as a teacher exploring all the nooks and crannies. The teachers' assesssment should then be written up in a standard form. If the package is not suitable it should be returned promptly to the supplier with the assessment report indicating the problem enclosed. Reputable suppliers will refund any monies paid for packages which are later found to be unsuitable.

How to benefit from the work of Others: Educational consortia as well as groups within the professional associations of academics are setting up resource centres to provide peer evaluation, publication and distribution mechanisms for CBE materials.[8]

Caution: I am worried by some of those now working on CBE systems who think that they already know all the answers.[9] We are only beginning the task of learning how to use computers in education. We must be prepared for many more years of trial and error.

The Future of CBE

The amount of CBE material in use at any level in the world is trivial at the present time. The next few years will see a sharp rise in this activity as more effective courseware and less expensive hardware becomes available.

Resulting in part from the fate of past predictions, forecasts of the future have become guardedly optimistic. Most writers would agree that the remaining hardware barriers will be resolved in the near future. Workstations will accept voice input and output, interactive television, video disk systems and satellite communications. Personal computers will be powered by batteries, use a flat screen non CRT display, have mass-storage facilities with no moving parts and have the reliability of televisions. It will also cost the equivalent of today's colour televisions.

A recent American study[10] on the impact of technology, stresses that the "Advanced Information" society of the future will place a premium on skills oriented towards the creation of new knowledge and the design of new technologies. The educational need of such a society will constantly change and lifelong retraining is expected to become the norm for many people. Computer Based Education as part of the more global Information Technology of the future will play a major role in overcoming future educational problems.

Atkinson[11] for example sees the spread of CBE packages for use on powerful home comuters. These packages will be purchased or leased outside the usual educational framework but they will be able to compete with traditional educational establishments on a cost effective basis.

As some traditional institutions become involved with Information Technology they will have to consider how they should change or what would happen if they resisted the pressure to change. As new powerful learning resources become available around the clock for use in the home or the classroom we can expect changes in the curriculum, in course structure, in grading systems and in certification procedures. Many teachers will shift from being delivers of courses to become designers and developers of courseware. Teachers will still be needed to handle those who cannot cope with the new learning situation but it is likely that there will be less time spent handling large classes and more time spent with small groups. The rise of new types of institutions plus the changes in existing formal institutions will eventually lead to a new educational system.

Conclusions

The present level of Computer Based Education and it's growth over the next ten years are of vital importance to the teaching profession at all levels. In keeping with its declared purpose I would like to see the Educational Studies Association of Ireland establishing a group to monitor the educational impact of Information Technology. Your Society will then be capable of offering a professional advisory service to those who wish to apply the computer as an effective educational tool rather than a toy for the technician who wishes to impress others by his use of gadgetry.

The changes in our educational system will take place whether we like it or not. Those with ability and courage must come forward now to guide their profession during what promises to be an exciting if at times a turbulent period.

REFERENCES

1. Bork, Alfred, "Educational Technology Centre at the University of California". (Proceedings of the 1979 IFIP - TC3 Working Conference on Computer Assisted Learning at Roehampton England. Lewis/Tagg Eds. (London: Heinemann Education Books, 1980), pp.37-53.

2. Hooper, R., "National Development Programme in Computer Assisted Learning". Final Report of Director. (Council for Educational Technology, 1977).

3. Papert, Seymour, Mindstorms. (New York: Basic Books, 1980).

4. O'Connell, John A. "Microprocessing and Microprogramming" - (Selected papers from CREST Conference at ISPRA, MILAN. (North Holland Publishing Company, 7, 1981, pp. 92-96.

5. Braun, L. "An Odyssey into Educational Computing". Proceedings of the 1979 IFIP-TC3 Working Conference on Computer Assisted Learning at Roehampton, England. Lewis/Tagg Eds. (London: Heinemann Education Books, 1980), pp.35-146.

6. Longworth, Norman. "Change and Information - Crucial Ingredients of the evolving Curriculum". Presentation to IFIP World Conference on Computers in Education - Lausanne 1981. (North Holland Publishing Co., pages 677 to 684 - Conference Preprints.)

7. Hawkins, C.A. "The Performance and the Promise of Evaluation in Computer Based Learning". Computers and Education, Vol.3, pp.273-280. (London: Pergamon Press Ltd., 1979).

8. Chambers, Jack A. and Sprecher, W. "Computer Assisted Learning: Current Trends and Critical Issues". (Communications of the ACM Volume 23 nunber 6 (1980), pp.332-342.

9. Bork, Alfred, op cit., p. 40.

10. OTA Report "Information Technology and it's Impact on American Education" (Office of Technology Assessment, U.S. Congress Washington D.C., 20510, 1982).

11. Atkinson, R.C. "Futures: Where will CAI be in 1990?" Educational Technology, Vol.18, 4, 1978.

Irish Educational Studies, Vol.3, No.2, 1983.

THE DEVELOPMENT AND VALIDATION OF COURSES IN BUSINESS STUDIES LEADING TO NCEA AWARDS: 1972-1982

Anthony White

This paper attempts to take an overview of the development of courses in Business Studies over the period 1972-1982 in that area of higher education which falls within the responsibility of the National Council for Educational Awards. It examines the rationale for the development of courses in business studies and the process by which they were validated and assessed. It also makes some tentative judgements about the effectiveness of the courses and also as to how they may develop within the coming decade.

Numbers of Student Awards

It is necessary initially to place Business Studies in context within the overall picture of NCEA awards and courses. In the period from 1972 to 1982 NCEA made 18,306 awards to students. Of these, 4,747 were in the general area of business and social studies. In other words what is classified as Business Studies accounts for slightly over a quarter of all awards made, a smaller segment than engineering and construction within the NCEA system, but considerably larger than science and para-medical studies, art and design or education and general studies.

The percentage breakdown of the levels of award in Business Studies for the first ten years was:

One Year Certificate:	13.3%	(One Year)
National Certificate:	57.0%	(Two Years)
National Diploma:	23.9%	(Three Years)
Degree:	5.8%	(Four Years)

From this it can be seen that over 80 per cent of all awards were at National Certificate and National Diploma level. (These two areas are expected to remain around 75-80 per cent of all NCEA awards in the coming decade. What is likely to be seen is a drop in the number of One Year Certificates and a sizeable increase in the proportion of awards at degree level.)

These figures refer to twelve institutions: the National Institute for Higher Education, Limerick, the nine regional technical colleges, the Dublin College of Catering and the College of Industrial Relations. (It is only in this year that the first awards will be made at the National Institute for Higher Education, Dublin and the College of Commerce Rathmines.)

Courses

In the Business Studies area there are currently 59 approved programmes or courses. (In passing one can say that this is a conservative figure. If one were to consider the various options and electives open to students within these programmes one could multiply that figure two or three times. This is a valid point, because quite often in the process of course evaluation individual options or streams within a programme will have to be looked at separately by a group of assessors. In many programmes, even at National Certificate level, students can have a very varied menu of subjects from which to choose.)

The courses in business studies fall within three general categories - General Business Studies, Secretarial

Studies and Hotel, Catering and Tourism Studies. As it is intended to concentrate on the general business studies area, a few words about the other two are required here. The last two areas have accounted for about 35 per cent of all awards in business studies. Their main difference from general business studies is one of emphasis. In hotel, catering and tourism there tends to be considerable coverage of craft skills even in courses which are primarily of a management nature. There is a similar difference with the secretarial studies courses in that there has been a stress on typing and shorthand which are also primarily skills areas. However, these courses are currently undergoing reassessment and in some the skills requirement is being reduced and this in turn, is likely to bring them closer to the mainstream of business studies courses. However, this is a separate issue which would deserve a paper of its own.

Objectives and Rationale for Business Studies Courses

If one looks back at the published documentation[1] at the time the Regional Technical Colleges and the National Institute for Higher Education were being conceived in the late 1960s and early 1970s, it is clear that one of the primary concerns was to provide an adequate supply of engineering and science technicians and technologists for what was then seen as a shortfall in the manpower needed for economic growth and for attracting foreign industrial investment. The planners at that stage were much clearer on both the importance and on the requirements in the engineering and science area than they were in the general area of business studies. However this pattern is by no means unique to Ireland. Although business studies will normally be a component part of any development of technical and technological education, its rationale is quite often less explicit than in the engineering or science areas. If one examines Peter Venables' major work[2] on the British technological universities, it is striking how little he has to say about business education as compared to engineering and the sciences. Likewise, if one inspects Charles Carter's book on Higher Education for the Future [3] a similar contrast can be made. One could cite similar examples from elsewhere.

Inevitably given the less explicit rationale for business studies and the fact that a creature such as the "business technician" presented rather greater problems of definition and acceptability than a science or an engineering technician, course aims and objectives in the early years tended to be influenced very much by the requirements of existing institutes, particularly the professional accountancy bodies. The structure and content of business studies were coloured by the more advanced examination requirements of the accountancy bodies for which the National Certificate in Business Studies provided a foundation. The early developments at National Diploma level were also almost exclusively in the area of accountancy and management finance. It is only within the last four or five years that at the national diploma level there has been a counter-balancing development of specialisation at diploma level in areas such as marketing, personnel management, industrial relations, banking and agribusiness.

Because of the rather problematic nature of defining a rationale for certificate and diploma courses in business studies, and because there was always an inherent danger that they would not be seen as educational experiences or terminal qualifications in their own right but rather as a passageway to some other qualification, the second Board of Business Studies at NCEA devoted some time to setting down guidelines[4] for the National Certificate courses.

These guidelines were published in 1979. On the question of the aims and objectives of these two year NCBS courses, it was decided that "NCBS courses should meet the fundamental aim of providing learning experiences which would enable students to acquire:

(i) a preparation for employment

(ii) an education for general personal development, which would also help them in adapting to change, and

(iii) a foundation for further study.

These guidelines also stated that the courses, though embodying "immediate usefulness" should also provide the framework for "long-term usefulness".

If I could perhaps give a personal view on how well these aims have been met or how seriously they have been taken, I would say briefly at this stage that the courses appear to have been surprisingly effective insofar as they are a preparation for employment. This point is returned to later.

With regard to general personal development it is argued here that the courses have struck a reasonably good balance between the narrowly vocational and the broad general curriculum. At one stage in the mid-1970s Business Studies, in common with every other area within the NCEA, was embroiled in a protracted debate on the role of complementary studies within courses validated by NCEA. In my own view business studies have emerged rather well out of this in that in most courses students have been exposed to studies in communications, behavioural science, economics and law which, as they are taught in most colleges, do provide a solid base of general education with, in most cases, a practical and vocational component. This is not to deny that teaching programmes in some of the more applied disciplines like accountancy, marketing data processing and languages may also contribute to students' general development. Indeed NCEA course assessors are enjoined to ensure that courses provide what has come to be called an "integrated educational experience". Now obviously how successful any individual course is in providing this must be a matter of judgement and must depend on a cluster of different factors, such as the quality of the people teaching the course and the academic leadership provided by the institution conducting it.

With regard to the third aim - the foundation for further study - this is perhaps the area most susceptible to a hidden curriculum. For students who did not do well at Leaving Certificate NCBS and, more particularly, specific diploma courses provide a second chance for those who aspire to professional qualifications, particularly in the area of accountancy. Once again, of course, the danger so inherent at second level can re-emerge. What you are studying is not valuable in itself as much as for what it can help you to proceed to in some other course of study. In my own judgement there has been something of a move away from designing courses primarily to meet the exemption requirements of professional bodies. One could instance the redesign of syllabi in individual courses as an example of this. In other words it is arguable that, while these courses provide a foundation for further study (and, indeed, there are numerous students who have continued successfully to degree-level and professional studies) there has been a greater realisation that for a majority of students these courses are terminal awards and that it is more important to concentrate on the present than on the hereafter. There has been therefore a slight shift in terms of the basic aims of the courses, and preparation for employment and personal development have had a higher emphasis as a result.

Validation of Courses

Before examining the situation with regard to the effectiveness of the courses in terms of how they helped students to obtain employment, a few words are required about the process of validation. Since its inception the Council has considered about 200 written submissions for courses in business studies. From the beginning the procedure has been for courses to be designed by the Staff in the colleges who were to teach these programmes. The Council has never acted as an examining body nor has it ever involved itself in drawing up syllabi. Once courses are designed by a college they are submitted to the Council for evaluation and validation. The detailed evaluation of courses is not undertaken by members of the Council, but it is delegated to an appropriate Board of Studies. The Boards of Studies in turn delegate the detailed evaluation to panels or boards of assessors whose recommendations are subsequently considered by the Boards of Studies and the Council. Individual panels or boards of assessors have varied in size from two to nine members, although four or five has been the normal membership range.

In assembling these groups of assessors there has always been an attempt to have a mix of people - educationalists, members of the appropriate professional body or bodies who may or may not be teachers, and other assessors who are not teachers or educationists but who have a relevant industrial, trade or consumer interest. It is worth referring here to the latter group. One of the innovations in the educational system brought about by the Council's existence has been the close involvement in the evaluation and assessment process of individuals who are not professional educators. For NCEA they have acted as both course assessors and extern examiners. My own view is that they have contributed considerably to curriculum development and to ensuring that courses are broadly speaking responsive to whatever changes occur in the market-place. This has not heen a process entirely without tension. Businessmen may not always be totally realistic in their expectations of the education system. Nevertheless the cooperation between the schools and the world of employment has been arguably one of the most fruitful outcomes deriving from validation of this sort. There have been quite a few instances where colleges have been encouraged and, in some case, prodded into venture into which they would not otherwise have entered (such as industrial placement) which in general have been to the benefit of students.

Where there is such a diversity in the profile among those who actually carry out the evaluation process, there can always exist a difference in perspective, if not in basic assumptions, among the assessors. One of the functions of the Boards of Studies, and indeed of NCEA staff members who participate in the visits to institutions, is to attempt to maintain consistency and coherence and to eliminate arbitrary judgements as far as possible. By its very nature the NCEA is intended to harmonise the standards of courses at the same level in so far as it can. This is not easy in a system which is essentially a devolved one, where the individual syllabus is drawn up by separate groups and where the assessors are drawn from different backgrounds.

It was partly because of this that NCEA had to draw up some basic criteria such as the Guidelines for the Evaluation of Study Courses,[5] the primary degree criteria[6] and the Guidelines for the National Certificate in Business Studies. What has emerged over the decade is that there is now virtually a core curriculum at National Certificate Level in Business Studies, so that every student with a National Certificate can be taken to have studied aspects of accountancy, economics, law, business administration, mathematics and statistics, behavioural science and communications. Within the next two years it can also be assumed that every student will have studied data processing or computer studies. Each student will have taken six subjects in each year and in one of the years each of the above subjects will have been taken. In addition the students will have taken a range of elective subjects and those currently on offer include marketing, personnel, costing, office administration, typing, management principles and practice, taxation, organisation and management, French or German, computer programming, management information systems and systems analysis. As colleges have grown in size they have been able to extend the range of elective subjects which they can offer students on certificate courses (and even more so, this has been true at diploma level) but at the same time there has grown an informal consensus on a core curriculum which has begun to establish itself at certificate level.

Employment of Award-Holders

The success or failure of courses which are explicitly vocational must be judged largely by the ability of students to get jobs at the end of them. In recent years the Council has carried out surveys of those receiving awards and it has published data for the years 1979, 1980 and 1981.[7] The survey is carried out in the period December to February, some six months after students have completed the courses. Over these three years there was a remarkable consistency in the pattern of responses from Business Studies students. In all three years just under two-thirds of the students had obtained full-time employment, and each year 22 per cent had gone on to further study. There were two significant facts about the figures.

The numbers of those proceeding to further study immediately were consistently lower in every year than the average for NCEA awardholders and the numbers obtaining full-time employment directly from business studies courses was higher than in other areas, including the areas of science and engineering which were focused upon at the time of the setting up of the RTCs, and more recently focused upon by the Manpower Consultative Committee. There are nothing but the most tentative figures for 1982, but again it would seem that the employment opportunities for award-holders in business studies have held up extremely well in what was unquestionably the most adverse labour market conditions since any of the colleges under consideration were set up. In the present severe recession nobody can afford to be complacent but it is heartening for any of those involved in the business studies area that these students are able to obtain employment soon after graduation, and it would appear to indicate that those who planned those courses had identified their market and had identified a need which was waiting to be tapped. It would also appear to indicate that the fundamental aim of providing learning experiences which would enable students to acquire a preparation for employment is *prima facie* being achieved.

What sorts of jobs are these successful students doing? The research on this topic is fragmentary, although there is unpublished material from at least four colleges which gives some picture of the career progression of the graduates. In the absence however, of any co-ordinated research on the colleges concerned one is relying to an extent on the anecdotal and it would appear that there is a very fruitful area of research here.

Such a picture as we do have would indicate that a very considerable number of the successful students have found their way into the accounts function in firms of a variety of size and undertaking, both manufacturing and services. A sizeable number work in the general administrative area with a number in marketing, production, personnel and computers. The range of employments taken up by these award-holders varies widely. While the majority would appear to slot, at least initially, into the lower and middle ranks of organisations as accounts or wages clerks, many more find their way into being the office managers in small concerns and it would appear that the broad range of subjects covered at the level of National Certificate in Business Studies has been useful in preparing people who have the necessary kind of versatility. It would seem too that in some colleges there is a substantial proportion of students who come from small family businesses and that the general business studies course appears to have been identified as a useful preparation for managing these. As to how many have actually set up in business on their own, again we are relying on the anecdotal. The numbers currently appear to be very small, and it would seem true to say that the vast majority of students have been educated to become employees rather than employers.

Future Developments

The first decade has seen a consolidation at the level of National Certificate. The areas of expansion, in terms at least of subject provision, in the next decade are most likely to be at the level of National Diploma and degree. It has been noticeable in recent years that some colleges have attempted to mark out particular specialisms which are reserved for diploma work or are provided as options in the second half of degree courses in business. It is likely that even in recession times not all of these niches have been identified. No college, for example, has yet identified purchasing or materials management as appropriate specialisms for the third year of a course, though materials management appears to be a very important specialist area at a time when profit margins are squeezed.

One would also hope to see a greater number of specialisms in the agribusiness area. Agriculture is the country's single biggest resource, it is an area which for a variety of historical and administrative reasons has operated largely outside the mainstream of the education system, and one would hope to see in the future a greater marrying of business skills and techniques with agriculture and agricultural production.

The number of awards in business studies which have been made for part-time study has been very small and one would like to think that this will grow. One cannot be altogether confident about this at a time of recession because evening courses can be expensive to mount and organise and not as easy to plan as full-time courses. Nevertheless they are important not only in justice to those who missed out at the end of second level education, but because some of the areas of business education are very amenable to part-time study and contribute handsomely both to the development of the individual and to the general level of competence and skills available in the workplace.

Finally, it is to be hoped that the next decade will see the development either of full courses or of modules that deal with enterprise development, entrepreneurial skills and small business development. Some of this obviously must be specialised work which is currently dealt with in intensive short courses by bodies like Shannon Development. However, it seems important that these subjects are not left entirely until after students have left third-level education. Because of the recession it is now truer than it would have been five years ago to say that the majority of the best and most talented of our young people are proceeding to higher education. It is a truism to say that providing jobs and work for this enormous youth population is probably the biggest and most important task facing the country at the present time. It is also the case that to a very large extent we are on our own and that it will be our own initiative and enterprise that will see us through this challenge. Experience elsewhere would indicate that it is increasingly going to be small rather than large business that will provide employment. Identifying opportunities and openings and knowing how to capitalise on them is therefore of great importance. If so many of the most talented of our young population are in the higher education system, it is there that some of the seeds for this must be sown. It is not suggested that anything other than a minority of students in business studies, or indeed in science and engineering, are going to become the entrepreneurs of the future or that all business studies courses should be re-routed in that direction. But it is going to be crucial that those who have the flair and the spark should at least be given the orientation and shown the possibility. This is arguably the biggest single contribution that business studies could make between now and the end of the century.

REFERENCES

1. Steering Committee on Technical Education. Report to the Minister for Education on Regional Technical Colleges. (Prl. 371). (Dublin: Stationery Office, 1967.

   A Council for National Awards and a College of Higher Education at Limerick. (Dublin: Higher Education Authority, 1969).

2. Peter Venables, Higher Education Developments: The Technological Universities 1956-1976. (London: Faber and Faber, 1978).

3. Charles Carter, Higher Education for the Future. (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1980).

4. The National Certificate in Business Studies - Guidelines. (Dublin: National Council for Educational Awards,1979).

5. Guidelines for the Evaluation of Study Courses. (Dublin: National Council for Educational Awards, 1975).

6. NCEA Primary Degree Criteria: Guidelines for the Evaluation of Degree Courses. (Dublin: National Council for Educational Awards, 1979).

7. Report of a Survey of NCEA Award Recipients. (Dublin: National Council for Educational Awards, 1979, 1980, 1981).

Note: Any views expressed in this paper are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect those of NCEA.

Irish Educational Studies, Vol.3, No.2, 1983.

ECONOMIC RECESSION: RESTRAINT OR OPPORTUNITY FOR HIGHER EDUCATION?

Daniel O'Hare

Objectives

The objectives of my paper are:

- To provoke you to think positively in these times of financial constraint
- To suggest a number of issues, armed with which we could seek support
- To challenge you and other higher education institutions to espouse some or all of the ideas
- To challenge Government to fund the initiatives, as a demonstration of its support for change.

Preamble

I undertook a visit to the United States a little while ago. In the course of this visit I met senior staff at MIT, Southern Methodist University (SMU), Stanford and University of Mid America - State University Nebraska (UMA-SUN). At MIT, SMU and Stanford I discovered that Engineering courses were being taught on-campus and via T.V. links to industry in the locality and that videotapes of these and other programmes were pooled, shared, exchanged and hired amongst a nation-wide grouping of Universities.

At UMA-SUN I discovered that a consortium of approximately six universities in different States had been formed to provide courses by Distance Education. I wondered why similar ventures did not appear to have developed in Ireland.

What, you may ask, have these stories in common with my paper today. I believe that they are relevant because in them is an inferred cooperation and sharing between institutions; there is innovative experimentation in teaching method or approach; there is a sensitivity to cost effectiveness - to mention but a few issues.

Introduction

The substantial characteristic of Irish higher education over the past decade has been its expansion and diversification. New institutions were created and expanded rapidly; older institutions expanded also - and we were all preoccupied with that growth and that diversification in discipline, levels and types of courses.

We seemed to have convinced ourselves that we were creating a vast higher education system - it is certainly substantial in relation to our national population - but we tended to forget that our combined higher education system was no larger than many individual institutions in some other countries. Then recession and cutbacks came thundering upon us! There were our cries of 'crisis' - and, I agree in a most heartfelt way with that cry (a personal comment from me as head of a new developing institution which is engaged in an 'Irish Exercise' i.e. developing in a contracting situation!). So, then, why did I entitle my paper as I have done?

I believe that the current climate may provoke actions and responses which logic and open debate might not have otherwise provoked; this financial crisis has and increasingly will facilitate or produce a dynamic at local and national levels which will question the hitherto unquestionable. One such active debate is already well known to us - namely, the need for Humanities/Arts programmes in higher education. In mentioning this topic I do not mean to infer that the Arts are less than vital; quite the contrary. I believe, though, that there is now an opportuntiy for our Arts Faculties to question, to examine and to articulate their role and function - dare I use that latter term; a firm, clear, unambiguous policy for the support of Arts could be the result and, when adopted, would be the basis for considerable progress.

Opportunities

What other opportunities are there for the higher education sector? There are many, in my view, and I will list a fairly conservative number of these and refer briefly to each.

1. Interinstitutional Cooperation in Providing integrated part-time and post-experience courses

   The history of Adult Education provision has been, to a large extent, intertwined with the Vocational Education system; other agencies have made their contribution also. More recently, the Adult or Part-time Education provision has developed two major emphases:

   - general adult education
   - post-experience and qualification-based programmes.

   The extent to which the higher education sector - excluding the VECs and RTCs - has responded to these needs has not been tremendously impressive to date.

In our current economic climate there is a real danger that such programmes as exist might be curtailed, and that would be unfortunate.

Another feature of this part-time course provision has been its disjointed, non-integrated and non-coordinated nature; these features could be seen as the outcomes of flexibility emanating from institutions. My view is that there has been much duplication and fragmentation. In short the public has been poorly served; these comments are meant to be a factual statement on the overall situation not a criticism of the activities of Extra-Mural Departments and Colleges.

My suggestion is that the recession with its consequential tightening of purse-strings should persuade higher education institutions to devise integrated and structured programmes for their surrounding city, county or region.

I would like to refer to the Greater Dublin area as an example. I propose that UCD, TCD, St Patrick's College Maynooth, DIT, NCAD and NIHE Dublin, should, together, devise a part-time integrated programme of courses across the broadest number of disciplines for the Greater Dublin Area on an annual basis. The institutions would then decide which College would provide modules or full courses within the full programme.

Need I elaborate further! I can think of obstacles to the implementation of this idea. However, in my opinion, the benefits which the population would derive from this approach would justify the effort which the Colleges would expend. Do we not owe that much to our community?

2. Shared Development of Distance Education

Economic recession has been an active partner in the development of the Distance Education idea in Ireland. It has - to a certain degree - indicated that we should devise a model for Distance Education which is very consciously cost effective in our small country.

The results have been extremely encouraging to date - 1,000 students enrolled on the Computer Programming course, attending at 20 local centres for elements of that course - in schools, National Institutes, University Colleges, Regional Technical Colleges, industry, prisons and libraries, and all this organised by two full-time staff.

The cost-effectiveness of this form of education is self-evident. However, what is less apparent is the role which all institutions must have in its further development.

The cost conscious approach, the emphasis on quality, on smooth, integrated administration and on the excellence of multi-media materials - all of these dictate that a central facility is a *sine qua non*. The particular national novelty of this statement is made most challenging by the desirability and necessity for NIHE Dublin to involve all institutions in a meaningful, non-cosmetic and real way in the development of the National Distance Education effort.

3. New Role for Academic Staff

We are all very well aware of the effect which recession has had on staffing levels in our institutions; embargoes apply in most Colleges and these are causing much hardship and difficulty. How then, you might ask, can such an issue represent an opportunity?

I believe that the embargoes on staff recruitment have been introduced as a general measure without any specificity. Unfortunately, too many of us are preoccupied with reducing the pay element in recurrent budgets for higher education to "an acceptable level" in the interests of cost effectiveness. However, there is a major defect in this thinking - it has not extended to the establishment of any study on increasing the effectiveness of staff output; more crudely - the pay element in College budgets may be reduced to, say, 60 per cent of recurrent budgets but there is no professional assessment being made as to how the greatest return can be obtained from this reduced figure. There is a real opportunity in my view in this situation to study and to anticipate and plan a new role for the lecturer. New technology, cost effective and reducing in cost while the cost of labour increases apace, surely must have a greater impact if it is anticipated, nurtured and guided.

Let us reflect on the change, or rather lack of change, which has characterised the lecturing profession over the past 50 to 100 years. Students still leave home, travel hundreds of miles to campuses, file into lectures, much as they did in 1900 and before. Will future generations be fascinated or even amused at our lack of foresight? Can we grasp this opportunity which recession and new technology provoke?

4. I have spent some time, not enough, I appreciate, on what I consider to be significant opportunities. There are so many others that I would have to speak for quite a few more minutes to introduce each. However, I believe that discussion might be a more productive way to explore these possibilities rather than an extensive exposition on each way. I will,

therefore, briefly list other opportunities and allow your interest and their attractiveness, if any, to develop them further.

ADDITIONAL OPPORTUNITIES

1. T.V. links between Colleges in order to share specialist lectures and lecturers.

   The advent of cable TV will make it extremely simple to transmit lectures from one institution to another. I consider that this will open up real opportunities to rationalise the provision of academic staff between institutions. For example, a specialist lecturer in 'Japanese Export Marketing' could lecture the final year B Comm class in UCD while final year BBS students at TCD, NIHED and DIT could tune in and also communicate with the lecturer.

2. Rationalisation of Library development between institutions in a locality.

   Consideration should be given to enhancing cooperation between all Libraries (including technical libraries) regarding periodical holdings for instance, could release funds for other purposes.

3. Joint studies on Decision Support Systems in Higher Education.

   I believe that joint studies on Decision Support and Control Systems in Higher Education could lead to better financial, purchasing and planning systems in our higher education system.

4. Joint studies on the four-term Academic Year of Dual throughput.

Much comment on this issue is ill-informed, in the absence of proper studies and data. The higher education sector should establish a group to study these issues and report on them to a public seminar. The result could be to reaffirm the status quo; alternatively, a more cost effective model for the use of buildings.

5. The joint marketing by professionals of the research expertise of higher education staff.

I would advocate the establishment of an office entitled the Irish Research Institute whose function it would be to market the research expertise of the higher education sector at home and, particulary, abroad. Funded from contract earnings, this office would consist of, say, four persons. The idea is based on what I believe to be an erroneous expectation that good research physicists, biologists, and electronic engineers should be equally good marketing people, good at identifying where commercial opportunties for research output lies ... IRI should be given an initial 'pump priming' amount for, say, three years during which time it should become self-financing; otherwise, it should be eliminated. I also believe that IRI would be more acceptable in most countries than UK or USA agencies, such as Stanford Research Institute (SRI). This initiative could unlock the research expertise of the Higher Education sector for the support of Irish industry; it could also be a considerable earner of foreign currency; and it would also enhance Ireland's image abroad as a centre of research expertise and also enhance IDA's task in attracting foreign investment.

7. Joint production, acquisition and modification of learning materials.

A central clearing house, loan centre and evaluation centre for audio-visual learning materials, for all levels of the education system, (perhaps in association with the Distance Education facility) would have great potential savings while enhancing the quality of education.

8. The shared provision of special topic courses for research students.

I have been impressed by the US Graduate School approach to requiring students to attend special courses in order to broaden and strengthen the knowledge of postgraduate students. It is my view that our postgraduate research programmes could be strengthened immeasurably by requiring students to attend series of lectures in their discipline, broadly defined. In view of the relatively small numbers of research students in any one higher education institution a joint initiative between UCD, TCD, Maynooth, NIHE Dublin and An Foras Taluntais should be undertaken, as an initial venture.

9. Joint provision of staff development programmes - for administrative, support and academic staff.

10. Joint study on student fees, loans and support systems and their effects.

Perhaps I can summarise my presentation in one sentence: economic recession provides us with the greatest opportunity of all - real inter-institutional cooperation.

A SUMMARY OF OPPORTUNITIES

1. Inter-institutional cooperation in providing integrated part-time and post-experience courses.
2. Shared development of Distance Education.
3. New role for academic staff (Staff development, new technology).
4. Sharing resources and effort
    - T.V. links for specialist lecturers
    - Admission to higher education
    - Research effort (Universities, AFT, AFF, IIRS...)
    - Library Development
5. Joint study on Institutional Research
6. Studies on unit costing and cost effectiveness (including 12 month year, rational approaches to SSR)
7. Centralised, joint production or acquisition and modification of learning materials (CAI, VCR, laserdisc, Cable T.V., local radio).
8. Development of an Irish Research Institute.

Irish Educational Studies, Vol.3, No.2, 1983.

RITUALS AND SYMBOLS AS CONTRIBUTORS TO THE CULTURE OF NORTHERN IRELAND PRIMARY SCHOOLS

Dominic Murray

Introduction

The data for this paper were collected by means of participant observation in two primary schools in Northern Ireland. A period of six months was spent in each of two schools, one Catholic, the other State. There is enough evidence existing to justify state schools being described as Protestant establishments and throughout this paper the terms State and Protestant should be taken as being synonymous.

This paper is about culture in Northern Ireland and the possible influences on, or reactions to, culture displayed by the schools. The impression may be given of the existence of only two cultures in the Province commonly referred to as Catholic and Protestant cultures. While there is obviously a strong link between religion and culture in Northern Ireland, it is quite erroneous to present them in terms of such a stark dichotomy. There are in fact many 'grey areas' which are probably more important to comprehend than the extremes. Therefore, although the time available here allows only reference to be made to the two broad and popular views of culture in Northern Ireland you should remain aware of the existence of many more. See Robinson (1980) and Lyons (1979).

Another aspect of culture requires comment at the outset. An attempt was made throughout the research to distinguish between the character and culture of schools. I define character as the atmosphere in any school which is unique to that school. This uniqueness can be due to

248

the area in which it is located, its particular principal and staff or its age or structure. Culture is seen more in terms of climate within the school which is a function of the community which the school serves.

This is a vital distinction to make although unfortunately it is one which has been often overlooked in cultural analyses of education in Northern Ireland.

The most immediate impressions formed by a stranger entering a school are engendered by the symbols displayed and rituals enacted within it. Despite the fact that in many cases such stimuli are obvious, it should not be assumed that they provide superficial information only. The rituals and symbols themselves are merely the instruments through which deeper value positions are conveyed and to which meanings are apportioned.

For the purpose of this paper a symbol is defined as an object which is displayed to evoke images and meanings designed to influence attitudes and values and thus structure behaviour. In this sense ritual is also a symbol but is more active and participatory. It implies involvement and identification of members of the group for which it has specific meaning. In the case of schools these meanings may be communicated to, or understood by, members of a particular school only. In which case they can be said to preserve the character of the school.

Such a case is demonstrated by the yearly pageant in Rathlin which highlighted different aspects of the school's long historic past. Pride was expressed in its tradition and children were made aware of the distinctiveness of the school which dates back to the plantation of Ireland. The pageant concluded with the rousing musical exhortation - "Lets be proud of our story and our past glory". In the dim assembly hall parents, many of whom were past pupils clasped hands with their enraptured offspring. There was an almost tangible feeling of belonging to a sentimentally exclusive fellowship.

Symbols in schools however, can have meaning for a much larger group who may have no direct contact or relationship with that particular school. The 6' x 2½' papal flag hanging in St. Judes, is a case in point. A Roman Catholic entering St. Judes, even though he has never done so before, would be made immediately aware that the school was part of a more general system of which he had had experience. He can therefore proceed to operate on the assumption that both religious and cultural values which he himself holds will be reflected and cherished within that school. Symbols, therefore, can stimulate subsequent behaviour.

Such 'cues' are important in Northern Ireland where at any gathering, members will assiduously attempt to determine the religious affiliation and hence political and cultural aspirations of the others. There is nothing insidious in this process, it is simply a means of avoiding possible embarrassment. The more visible the symbols displayed the more this identification process is facilitated.

There is, however, another significant outcome which such overt symbols may precipitate. Protestants entering St. Judes, being confronted by the Papal Flag - or indeed Catholics observing the large Union Jack outside Rathlin (both are of equal cultural and political significance) may well have their stereotypes of the other type of school confirmed. These stereotypes are, by definition, based on superficial observation or heresay evidence. Miss Jackson, who taught P4 in Rathlin confided in me:

> When I saw all those statues and things in St. Judes it made me wonder just what exactly went on there.

Mr. White in St. Judes was more outspoken:

> They fly the flag down there (in Rathlin) to show that they are more British than the British themselves. It's also to let us know that they are the lords and masters and we should be continually aware of it. I wonder what would happen if we tried to fly the Tricolour.

Those observations demonstrate well the dangers of symbols in a segregated society. Individuals, not being privy to the meaning structures of those for which the symbols are constructed, must therefore, interpret their display at a superficial level. By the very nature of rituals and symbols they must be clearly visible. In Northern Ireland, however, visibility can be perceived as provocation.

In St. Jude's for instance, members would go to any lengths to avoid giving offence and considered it quite natural to display "statues and things" in a Catholic school. In Rathlin, many of the teachers were unaware that the Union Jack fluttered daily outside their school and in fact could not have cared less if it did not not. They also found it quite incomprehensible that a state school, in Britain, flying the British emblem, could cause offence ...

> If they (Catholics) want to stay out, well that's fine with us. But how can they object to us showing that we want to stay in?

These comments, and many more on the same topic suggest that more cognisance may be taken of symbols by those who are observing them than by those who consciously or otherwise are displaying them. Why then do such symbols and rituals continue to exist? An attempt to answer this question is attempted under four main headings.

1. THE SYMBOLS AND RITUALS THEMSELVES

The choice and presentation of books was seen to be symbolic of what each school was trying to do. A body of research exists in this field with regard to academic (or 'set') books. However, I considered it more appropriate to study what might, perhaps unfairly, be described as peripheral reading, i.e. library books and those which have been collected over the years and surround most classrooms.

It must be said at once that there was a marked difference in essence and tenor between the literature available for reading by the pupils in the two schools. A selection of three broad headings demonstrates this difference.

(a) Religious Books: In Rathlin these were exclusively biblical in nature - 'Stories from the Bible', 'The Bible for Children' were typical texts. In St. Judes every religious book was specifically Roman Catholic, they varied from academic - 'Religious teaching in Catholic schools' to almost proselytising material such as 'The Far East' and 'Africa' which one teacher left in the classroom because - "you never know when they might spark off a vocation".

(b) Geographic/Travel Books: Again under this heading the schools demonstrated interesting differences in emphasis. In St. Judes there seemed to be a strong attachment to Rome - 'The Vatican and Sistine Chapel', "A Visitor to Rome', 'The External City', 'Roma, photographs'. In fact there were many more books about Rome than there were about Belfast.

These kind of books were replicated in Rathlin, however, in this case the centre of attraction seemed to be London - 'The Book of London', 'Come to London' give some of this flavour.

(c) Historic Literature: In Rathlin the vast majority of such books were strongly British in content with books such as 'The Gunpowder Plot', 'Warwick John and the Magna Carta', 'The Crusades', 'Great Men and Women from Britain's Past', 'Norman Britain' in proliferation.

Books on these subjects simply did not exist in St. Judes. Here such literature tended to be strongly Irish in content and indeed nationalistic in nature - 'O Connell, man and boy', 'The Republic of Ireland', 'Ancient History of Ireland', 'Irish Myth and Magic'. It is interesting to note that all of these books treated Ireland as a unit of 32 counties rather than recognising Northern Ireland as a separate entity.

At a symbolic level, therefore, the casual literature in both schools seemed to encourage the cherishing of cultures which had their roots outside Northern Ireland itself. This may have important implications since it may portray these cultures as being all the more incompatible having little in common historically, traditionally or geographically.

Obviously in this section I can only give a flavour of the casual literature in both schools. I might, therefore, be accused of being selective in order to better demonstrate my point. This in fact is not correct. Throughout the research every book in the 'casual' category was recorded. When these were tabulated it was quite extraordinary how culturally specific and indeed exclusive such literature was.

Other rituals within the schools demonstrated a similar disparity. Prize day in Rathlin is a case in point. The occasion also had strong cultural undertones. In the first place the platform part was composed of establishment figures; the management committee, the chief officer of the Education and Library Board, Ministers of the three major Protestant groups and representatives of the London body who had founded the school. All of these represented successful members of the cultural group to which the pupils belonged.

Proceedings commenced with a request by the principal that

> To show our Loyalty, lets sing our
> National Anthem. (God save the Queen).

which was complied to with gusto.

Mr. Long also ended his yearly report with the claim

> It is a great honour to wear the motto
> of the City of London on our uniform.
> We do so with much pride.

These two examples of action within Rathlin were perfectly natural recognitions of a shared cultural identity in the school. They served to bind the members as part of a broad (i.e. British) community but also to emphasise the school's distinctiveness in terms of its unusually close links with London.

Whilst one might expect the latter function to differ from all other schools, it must be emphasised that neither aspect would ever be enacted in St. Judes, nor indeed in any Catholic school, where members lack any such affinity with either monarchy or the site of such rule. This may seem a gross over generalization but it is one that can be made with justification. It is in fact generally accepted in Northern Ireland that Protestants cling to a British Identity and Roman Catholics to a vaguely Nationalistic/Catholic ideal.

In fact formal ritual within St. Judes tended to emphasise religious identity and monthly Mass was the most powerful. Here emphasis was placed on the strong bond that should exist among Church, parents and school. The Church therefore was the unifying factor among all

Catholic schools. Such ritual in the school, in emphasising this global collectivity, could be said in the context of this discussion to be predominantly cultural in content. The pupils were being made aware that they were members of a much larger family.

> May God our Father bless the families, teachers and the priests in this parish as they hand on the faith to the children . . . May the Holy Spirit guide our hearts and strengthen our wills so that we may all grow as one family of God.

This relationship between Church and school was constantly reinforced. The instructions for the Offertory procession of one Mass demonstrates the point

> ... Parents,teachers and pupils form an Offeratory procession bringing bread and wine, flowers, some symbols of school work e.g. books, etc.

All religious ceremonies and rituals proceeded during school time - Mass, First Communion, Confirmation, Confessions etc. took place in the adjoining church during school hours. The school closed for all major Church holidays, a fact which seemed to provide the most graphic evidence to the pupils of both schools that "the other school was different".

Less public were the internal religious symbols and rituals. The Parish priest visiting the school every year to distribute ashes to every pupil and teacher on Ash Wednesday. Classes stopping for prayer, as the angelus bell, which could be heard clearly from the parish church fifty yards away, pealed out dolefully every day at 12 o'clock. This tended to emphasise both the physical and religious affinity of Church and school. The rota of altar boys for Parish Mass on the main school notice board, Prayers and Church announcements at assembly, all served to highlight the natural and integral presence of Catholicism within the school.

This concept, which is central to the argument for the retention of the Catholic school system, was also stressed within the formal curriculum. Preparation for First Communion formed apart of religious instruction classes (and in fact many other classed as the event grew more imminent). Religious Education was in fact the teaching of Catholic doctrine.

Further evidence of the Church/School link was observed in Miss Elder's classroom. During the month of May there was a small alter introduced which consisted of flowers which the children brought in daily and a large statue of the Virgin Mary. Surrounding these symbols were pupil essays about the Blessed Virgin which has been marked and graded in the normal way.

All of these demonstrations not only highlight the links between Church and school, but also confirm the Catholicity of the school itself. This fact has political and cultural ramifications. Apart altogether from the historic Catholic connection with Nationalism the fact that Catholicism is emphasised inevitably allies the school to Catholic Ireland. In reality this means the South of Ireland and ideally perhaps a United Ireland. In other words, the emphasis on Catholicism can be seen (and indeed is seen) as a political acclaimation. Thus, while the Catholic Hierarchy may defend their schools on religious grounds, many Protestants, including the staff in Rathlin, perceived them to be strongly political in nature. Every ritual and symbol observed or heard about in Catholic schools, reinforces this perception.

While ritual in St. Judes can be said to reflect a National identity subsumed perhaps in the mantle of religion, no such ambiguity was observed in Rathlin's demonstration of a British affiliation. Here ritual at a cultural level was visibly and self avowedly British. As already noted, the emblem of Britain is flown daily outside the school. State schools in the area are required by the local Education and Library Board to display this symbol. Such a formal requirement would seem to suggest an official desire to either publicly affirm the link with Britain or to consciously influence the attitudinal positions of pupils within. It would seem that neither of these intentions will facilitate a Catholic acceptance of the official claim that state schools are open to all and thus already integrated. Catholics perceive them to advocate a cultural position which is anathema to the majority of Catholics.

Less visable to outsiders was the internal symbols and ritual in Rathlin which also emphasised a British culture. A 5' x 5' memorial plaque was affixed in the P6 classroom on which was named all the past pupils of the school who had fought in the "The Great Wars", some of whom had made the ultimate sacrifice. These men had fought in defence of the country of the present pupil population, i.e. Britain, and were being honoured for doing so. Thus the emblem provided an example of a symbol which constructs a framework of meaning over and beyond its objective self. It evokes a sympathy and empathy with others who had striven to maintain the security of the cultural group to which the pupils also belonged.

Cultural identity however, would hardly be constructed or indeed significantly influenced by any one symbol or ritual. It is rather the cumulative effect of the myriad of such stimuli which may affect the attitudes and hence behaviour of pupils. The impact is likely to be greater the more public and concensual the stimuli. That is the more members of the social group who actively take part in it. Special assemblies in Rathlin provide a good example of this.

On Commonwealth day, the whole of assembly was devoted to this topic. A letter from the Queen was read out to the pupils by Mr. Long. He also delivered a brief eulogy about the Commonwealth. One of the Ministers present gave a homily about the Queen and the good words she carried out for her subjects. The proceedings closed with everyone singing a verse of 'God Save the Queen'. Assembly broke up amid a festive atmosphere. All pupils from P1 to P7 were united with teachers and clergy in a common identity within a Commonwealth family.

While this particular aspect of social action within Rathlin seemed both natural and enjoyable, it is inconceiveable that anything comparable would ever be enacted in St. Judes. When I described the ritual to staff there it was treated with derision. Miss Elder articulated the general feeling:

> What has the Great Commonwealth ever done for us? British Colonialists have milked Ireland dry for centuries and yet you still get people who applaud them for it. I think they are mad or stupid. In Rathlin they get people coming over from London every year and dishing out a few prizes to the natives and they are treated like God Almighty ... Have they no pride at all? God it's pathetic!

The general intensity of reaction in St. Judes was impressive. It demonstrated graphically the perceptual and cultural gulf that existed between the two establishments and very probably between the two separate systems of schooling operating in Northern Ireland as a whole.

2. THE INTENTIONS OF THE PRESENTER

In St. Judes there seemed a clear purpose in the employment of ritual, i.e. to emphasise the Catholicity (with a large and small 'c') of the Church, home, school trinity. This aspiration was demonstrated by action throughout the whole school and was as obvious to an outside observer as it was taken for granted by the school members. Implicit in this emphasis on the values of the Catholic home and school was the reinforcement of a Nationalist culture and identity.

In Rathlin there seemed to be more ambivalence in this respect. While there were rituals and symbols presented which accentuated a broad Protestant (or British) identity, there appeared to be a greater concern for demonstrating that their school was unique and in fact better than any other within the general State system.

As observation proceeded it became apparent that in St.Judes, ritual and symbols existed predominately to emphasise the culture of the school. In Rathlin such activities seemed mainly designed to demonstrate the distinctive character of the institution. This may well be explained by the differing rationales of the two establishments.

The official rhetoric on Catholic schools has invariably posited salvation higher than education. It is not surprising therefore, that any such school attempting to attain this goal will in fact emphasise its Catholicity rather than its educational process. Since this Christian objective is presumably not competitive the result will be the formation of a distinct collectivity of all Catholic schools sharing this common goal.

Rathlin, on the other hand, being part of the more secular State system of education can, be seen to exist in a more competitive market. In a society which tends to view education in academic terms, a successful school must demonstrate its academic excellence. The greater the efforts made to establish such kudos the more distinct the school will become as an identifiable entity.

However, State schools are at the same time Protestant in nature and it is to be expected that they will reflect the general cultural aspirations of that group. Hence the duality of ritualistic practice in Rathlin.

This analysis with regard to the two thesis schools is rather too general. Suffice it to say that examples of ritual in St. Judes which emphasised character were rare - in Rathlin they were myriad.

3. THOSE FOR WHOM RITUALS AND SYMBOLS ARE CONSTRUCTED

The case for children attending St.Judes is clear, quite simply it is the local Catholic school in the area. Parents send their children there because they have made the moral decision that their children should be brought up as Catholics. The more visable evidence that exists within the school that it is striving toward this end then the less conflict there will be between parent and school. Ritual then serves to bind these people into a community. Their meaning is clear and their purpose accepted.

Although Rathlin is a Protestant school (all staff are Protestant and only six pupils are Catholic) it is not homogenously so. One factor which unites the vast majority of Protestants in Northern Ireland is a claim to be British [Robinson,(1980); Russell,(1972)]. This aspect of schooling was evident in Rathlin and other State schools which the researcher has visited. Rathlin however, has a longer history and tradition than most. It was founded in 1709 by a group of people who were appalled by the "lack of learning" in the area. It has striven over the years to establish an individual or unique character based on academic excellence.

The success rate in the 11+ examination is 20 per cent above the National average. This statistic itself becomes a symbol which communicates meanings to parents of prospective pupils about what the institution is trying to do. Rathlin therefore, has an appeal for a section of the community who value academic emphasis in schools. This appeal is reinforced by rituals within the school where the head boy or girl are appointed solely on academic criterion and, by the most powerful ritual observed in either school, prize day where the overwhelming majority of prizes were awarded for academic achievement.

It can be argued therefore, that rituals and symbols are important not only for individuals within an institution/school but also for prospective members who are attempting to determine which institution might best reflect and encourage their own attitudes and values.

4. OBSERVERS WHO ARE NOT FAMILIAR WITH THE MEANING STRUCTURES OF THE RITUALS AND SYMBOLS

Rathlin, being a State school is legally non-denominational. It is, however, attended almost exclusively by Protestants who acclaim Unionist or British aspirations. The school, therefore, in common with other State schools, is placed in the invidious position of on the one hand attempting to reflect or reinforce the values and attitudes of a broadly Unionist culture yet at the same time avoiding being seen as being exclusively Protestant. The Union Jack flying outside Rathlin provides a good example of this dilemma. When considered at all, the staff there considered that it was perfectly natural to have such an emblem in a school which was located in Great Britain. One teacher articulated the mood:

> I don't know why you are making such a fuss about the flag. Why should we apologise for flying it? We are a State school and the flag is the emblem of the State. (Laughing) Would you rather we flew the Tricolour or the Hammer and Sickle?

The fact that I had not been "making a fuss" nor suggesting that apologies were required and the defensive tone used, suggested that the teacher was aware that possible offence could be taken by the exhibition of the emblem. In fact it is true to say that in general, and certainly among the staff in St. Judes Catholics equate the Union flag with Britishism and therefore Protestantism. The reality of them therefore, is that Rathlin was a Protestant school.

The principal and staff in Rathlin vehemently denied any such assertion. They claimed (rightly) that their school was open to all. However, every ritual and symbol which demonstrates their natural British aspirations simultaneously reinforced the Catholic conviction that State schools were Protestant establishments and actively sought to maintain an exclusively Protestant nature. This perception can lead to quite extreme positions being adopted. The parish priest of St.Judes, shortly before I arrived, refused to allow the school choir to partake in a musical festival which was taking place in a local town hall simply because the Union Jack was flying outside. His reason, given to staff was:

> If they (Protestants) make it clear that we are not welcome, then why should we disappoint them?

The fact that none of the other choirs had any responsibility for the display of the symbol nor, it would seem, would the vast majority have noticed its absence, is irrelevant. The point is that for the parish priest at least, meanings were attached to the object so that it was seen as a provocation. This then was the reality of the situation as far as St.Judes was concerned and social behaviour, in the form of a boycott, ensued. Miss Jackson who had previously mentioned to me that she "wondered what went on in Catholic schools" elaborated on this point in a later discussion:

> We play St. Judes often in games and we visit their school regularly. I never fail to be impressed by the plethora (sic) of religious pictures and icons staring at you around every corner. It's hard to escape the view that a special show is being put on for our benefit ... this doesn't just apply to St.Judes of course, but they must know that these are the very things that we have objections to yet still they are flaunted everywhere.

I asked what this "Special show" might be for:

> Oh I think to demonstrate their separateness and isolation from the State system of education... I suppose this might be fair enough but in general in Northern Ireland I think that Catholics don't want to have anything to do with the State. That's why they are so against integrated education.

Here then are examples of symbols being misinterpreted by individuals for whom they were not constructed. I put Miss Jackson's views and other similar ones of Rathlin teachers to the staff in St.Judes. They reacted unanimously to the intolerance of the opinions. Mr.White was most outspoken:

> We are a Catholic school. Statues and holy pictures are part of the Catholic way of life. They are, in this school, for the benefit of the people within the school not for any outsiders who might visit us. If they take offence well thats too bad but it is also irrelevant. I think that it is typical of the general Protestant approach to Catholics-

> - why should our religion offend them?
> I think they would prefer that we
> didn't exist at all).

The point is that there seemed to be no intention to offend anyone by the display of rituals or symbols. It was simply unfortunate that they were perceived in this way by outsiders.

Here then is an important, and often overlooked aspect of ritual. It may act as Bernstein (1971) and Skilbeck (1976) suggest, to bind people together as a distinctive collectivity or to preserve an identity. In a segregated society however, served by segregated schools, it would seem that the more distinctive they are then the more suspicion and intolerance is engendered in outside observers who neither understand nor identify with the more overt signs which contribute to this distinctiveness. Whatever the intentions of the group, it would appear that distinctiveness is interpreted as exclusiveness and hence with suspicion.

It is unfortunate that within the two schools such a gulf exists between intention and perception, since it is on the basis of both of these that social reality is constructed. At the level of ritual in the two schools, such realities would seem to be poles apart.

It must be stated at this stage that it would be naive to suggest that in the Northern Ireland context, symbols were never intended to be provocative. On the basis of observation and discussion in both schools, however, it seemed that perception of a provocative intent grossly exaggerated and misrepresented the intention itself. This may well also be true of the society in general.

REFERENCES

1. Bernstein, B. (1971). 'Education Cannot Compensate for Society', in School and Society: A Sociological Reader. Milton Keynes: Open University Text.

2. Lyons, F.S.L. (1979). 'The Four Islands'. Memorial lecture delivered at Queens University Belfast. Reprinted in The Listener, vol.101, No. 2604, March.

3. Robinson, A. (1980). 'Culture and Identity in Northern Ireland', in Network: The Journal of the Association of Teachers of Cultural and Social Studies, Vol. 1, No.2, December.

4. Russell, J. (1972). 'Some aspects of the Civic Education of Secondary School Boys in Northern Ireland'. Northern Ireland Community Ralations Research Paper. Belfast: Northern Ireland Community Relations Commission.

5. Skilbeck, M. (1976). 'Education and Cultural Change' in Compass: Journal of the Irish Association for Curriculum Development, Vol. 5, No.2.

Irish Educational Studies, Vol.3, No.2, 1983.

A STUDY OF LEAVING CERTIFICATE STUDENTS' PERCEPTIONS OF TEACHERS' ATTITUDES TO LEAVING CERTIFICATE

Madeleine O'Shea

I. Design

This paper is extracted from a larger study which investigated the attitudes of Leaving Certificate students to the Leaving Certificate examination. Three schools cooperated.

School A, co-educational, largely unstreamed and non-selective in intake.

School B, a single-sex girls' school, streamed and fee-paying.

School C, a single-sex boys' school, strictly streamed and exercising selective entry procedures based on predicted academic ability.

All sixth-form students in all three schools participated in the study. (n = 196). The two instruments relevant to this paper which were used in the main study were:

(a) a 5-point Likert scale consisting of 30 statements, (the scale was constructed via collection of an item-pool and refined in a pilot-study).

(b) an open-ended questionnaire of 12 items designed to elicit clarification of students' attitudes to items included in the Likert scale.

Five statements on the Likert scale and four questions on the questionnaire elicited data relevant to students' perceptions of their teachers' attitudes to them and to their preparation for Leaving Certificate.

Each school provided a breakdown of students in the sample into high, medium and low ability groups.

II. Results and Analysis

A. The Likert Scale: The five items which elicited student perceptions of their teachers' attitudes were items 6, 12, 18, 24 and 30.

	Strongly agree	Agree	Uncertain	Disagree	Strongly disagree
6 Most teachers help to reduce my anxiety concerning Leaving Certificate.	1	2	3	4	5
12 Teachers think that Leaving Certificate is the most important facet of a senior student's life.	5	4	3	2	1
18 Teachers use Leaving Certificate to instil fear in students.	5	4	3	2	1
24 If I have confidence in the teacher, I feel less anxious about the examination in his/her subject area.	1	2	3	4	5
30 I would like to see Leaving Certificate replaced by teachers' assessments of work done during the years.	1	2	3	4	5

To guard against the "acquiscence set" (Martin,1964) items 12 and 18 required reverse scoring. Total raw scores could range from a maximum of '25' to a minimum of '5'. High scores indicate perceived pressure from teachers while low scores suggest perceived teacher support and co-operation.

Item analysis produced the following table of means:

TABLE NO. 1

Table of means on 'teacher' items

$\overline{X}$

Item number	6	12	18	24	30	Total
Total population	3.78	3.90	3.36	3.91	2.17	17.12
Total girls	3.97	3.63	2.89	4.09	2.05	16.63
Total boys	3.69	4.02	3.57	3.83	2.22	17.33
School A	4.02	3.79	3.43	3.98	2.36	17.58
School B	3.96	3.63	2.79	4.08	2.05	16.51
School C	3.53	4.11	3.64	3.78	2.17	17.23

Apart from item 30, high scores dominate this table. There seems to be strong agreement among the students in the sample that they experience pressure and domination from teachers in their preparation for Leaving Certificate rather than assistance and co-operation. The consistently low scores on item 30 suggest equally strong agreement that they would still prefer teachers' assessments of their work to the more impersonal assessment of Leaving Certificate.

Scores on item '6' were compared with scores on a similar statement in the main study (O'Shea, 1980) which related to parents: "My parents help to reduce my anxiety concerning Leaving Certificate". This comparison indicated that boys found parents ineffective in helping to allay examination anxiety and teachers even more ineffective. Girls tended to find parents helpful in reducing their examination anxiety; their scores on item '6' here suggest that they find teachers generally unhelpful.

Scores on item '24' confirm this trend. With one exception (and even in that instance - School A - the reduction is very small) these scores are higher than scores on item '6'. Students in this sample report consistently that having confidence in the teacher does not reduce their examination anxiety even in that teacher's subject area.

Scores on item '18' were also compared with a similar statement in the main study (O'Shea, 1980) which related to parents: "parents use examinations as disciplinary agents (i.e. excuses for curtailing parties, social functions, etc.)" Students' scores suggest their belief that teachers use Leaving Certificate to instil fear in students (Item 18) to a greater extent than parents use Leaving Certificate as a disciplinary agent. Here again a divergence of opinion emerged between the perceptions of boys and girls. Boys tended to believe that teachers use the examination to instil fear; girls tended to believe that they do not.

Boys and girls agree that teachers consider that Leaving Certificate is "the most important facet of a senior student's life" but again boys record this opinion more strongly than girls.

Analysis of results according to students' reported ability levels yielded the following breakdown:

TABLE No. 2

Table of means on 'teacher' items classified according to reported student ability.

$\bar{X}$

high ability (n = 58)

Item Number	6	12	18	24	30	Total
Total population	3.91	4.02	3.38	3.91	2.35	17.55
Total girls	3.76	3.29	2.71	4.24	2.12	16.12*
Total boys	3.98	4.32	3.66	3.83	2.41	18.20**
School A	4.09	4.00	3.47	4.00	2.63	18.15
School B	3.85	3.15	2.62	4.08	2.31	16.01
School C	3.85	4.46	3.69	3.85	2.12	17.97
medium ability (n = 75)						
Total population	3.63	3.77	3.39	4.07	2.04	16.90
Total girls	3.86	3.62	3.03	4.17	2.10	16.78*
Total boys	3.48	3.87	3.61	4.00	2.00	16.96**
School A	3.94	3.65	3.53	4.24	2.10	17.54
School B	3.80	3.56	2.92	4.12	2.24	16.64
School C	3.33	4.00	3.67	3.94	1.82	16.76
low ability (n = 63)						
Total population	3.84	3.94	3.30	3.73	2.17	16.98
Total girls	4.38	4.00	2.88	3.94	1.88	17.08*
Total boys	3.66	3.91	3.45	3.66	2.28	16.96**
School A	4.06	3.82	3.29	3.82	2.24	17.23
School B	4.43	4.07	2.79	4.00	1.93	17.22
School C	3.47	3.94	3.53	3.56	2.25	16.75

*Total girls' scores. **Total boys' scores

The difference in *pattern* between the total scores for girls and boys merit attention. Girls' total scores *increase* from high through medium to low ability students; boys' scores *decrease* on the same continuum. It would seem that high ability girls have most favourable perceptions of their teachers' assistance to them in preparation for Leaving Certificate while high ability boys have least favourable impressions of their teachers. Alternatively low ability girls and high ability boys experience most teacher pressure. Since boys in the schools in this sample have a majority of male teachers, while girls in the girls' school are mostly taught by female teachers, it is tempting to speculate whether these results suggest an actual difference in the attitudes of male and female *teachers*. The pattern divergence *may* imply that male teachers concentrate principally on the more able students, while female teachers exert more pressure on the less able.

Responses to item '30' show that all ability groups indicate preference for teachers' assessments replacing Leaving Certificate. High ability boys *and* girls indicate least preference for such change, though their inclination is still positive. Medium ability boys and low ability girls show strongest preference for teachers' assessments. It may be worth noting that low ability girls show strongest perceptions of teacher pressure *and* strongest preference for teachers' assessments replacing Leaving Certificate.

B. *Analysis of respondents' scores in the 'teacher' group in the open-ended questionnaire*: Questions 4, 5, 7 and 9 elicited responses on student perceptions of their teachers' attitudes to them in preparation for Leaving Certificate.

Q.4 Many people have interest in your examination. Will you indicate how these 'others' help your studies? (b) Teachers.

Q.5 What are the factors you experience as militating against your studies - (b) at school?

Responses to these two questions were analysed together as students presented mainly positive feelings on Q.4 and negative feelings on Q.5. Taking either set of responses separately would present an unbalanced picture of students' reported perceptions.

Virtually all responses on Q.4 recognised the teachers' central function and role in teaching the course material. Typical of such responses were:

> "They (i.e. teachers) help me understand my work".
>
> "Teachers help by teaching, by making the subject reasonably interesting, by suggesting work".
>
> "They provide the material for me to study and help me to overcome errors". "Without my teachers, I would have no change of getting my Leaving Certificate".

Apart from the basic teaching function, students isolated six constructs as teacher attributes helpful to them. All six seemed important. Hence the list below is not in rank order:

Encouragement from teachers to do well.

Additional help from teachers when required/requested.

Interest shown in student's welfare and in his future.

Advice on studying.

Advice on examination strategies.

Constructive feedback.

Responses to Q.5 generally concentrated on unhelpful teacher attributes. Poor classroom management was a prominent theme though, not surprisingly, no student used this term. Students commented on being hindered from concentration in class by other students 'dossing', disrupting the lesson, or deliberately refusing to participate. Five other unhelpful teacher attributes emerged:

Perceived lack of teacher interest/ concern for the individual student.

Destructive feedback/lack of encouragement.

Excessive amounts of homework combined with failure to appreciate that the student was coping "with six other subjects".

Homework set but not checked, or inadequately checked.

Boring classes.

Responses on questions 4 and 5 have not been classified on a percentage basis. An attempt to do so proved meaningless, as virtually all students differentiated between teachers:

> "Some teachers are genuinely concerned about our results and futures. Some have not got a clue and couldn't give a damn".

> "The teachers who help me are those who treat us as individual people. There are others who think we are a group of objects sitting there, taking information".

Two continua seemed to dominate students' differentiation between teachers and the two were not seen as mutually exclusive:

(a) Competent teachers who provided stimulating/ interesting classes v. incompetent teachers in whose classes boredom and/or lack of discipline led to "messing" and "dossing".

(b) Teachers whose personal concern for the individual student was perceived v. teachers who were seen as not caring about students' welfare.

Only one difference emerged between the responses of boys and girls. Many girls in the girls' school commented on teachers themselves becoming "uptight" and anxious as they came closer to the examination. Typical of this set of comments is:

> "Some teachers at this stage in sixth year have got a bit nervy and this comes across in class".

No comment of this kind was presented by the boys.

Q.7 In what ways do you consider that your results in Leaving Certificate are important to your teachers?

Three constructs dominated student responses:

(a) Teachers are interested in Leaving Certificate results on their own account.

(b) Teachers are interested in Leaving Certificate results on the students' account.

(c) Teachers are not concerned about students' results.

Analysis over the entire population in the sample gave the following results:

TABLE No. 3

Returns on Question 7 as percentages of the total population

Construct	(a) 65%	(b) 24%	(c) 11%

Breakdown on a school basis yeilded the following table:

TABLE NO. 4

Returns on Question 7 as percentages of each school population

Construct	(a)	(b)	(c)
School A	71	23	6
School B	62	23	15
School C	63	26	11

Students in this sample obviously show overwhelming agreement that teachers are interested in their Leaving Certificate results. However, the value they attach to such interest seems to depend principally on their attribution of causality. While more than 85 per cent of students in all three schools indicate their belief that teachers are concerned, only a quarter of the population(s) consider that the students' welfare is the primary focus of teacher concern. Some typical responses were:

> "Results are important to the teachers because this reassures them that they have taught their subjects well"
>
> "Their (i.e. teachers) efficiency is measured upon the results they can get. Therefore, results are important to them".
>
> "Results are important to teachers because if we failed, teachers would lose their jobs".
>
> "Some teachers are genuinely interested for my sake".

Q.9 Do you think class tests, 'mock' exams, etc., help your preparation for Leaving Certificate? Please give reasons for your answer.

88 per cent of the total population recorded their opinion that class tests and 'mock' exams were useful to them as preparation for Leaving Certificate. Breakdown on a school basis revealed that this opinion was constant across the three schools in the sample.

TABLE NO. 5

Table showing percentage of each school population which favoured class tests and 'mock' exams

%

School A	School B	School C
87	89	88

Reasons presented by students to justify their belief that class tests and 'mock' exams were useful to them were:

These tests and 'exams' helped them to phase their revision programmes realistically.

Tests/'exams' provided practice for Leaving Certificate.

Tests/'exams' helped them to study by setting short-term goals.

Tests/'exams' alerted them to areas of weakness while there was still time to effect corrective procedures.

Tests/'exams' provided practice for coping with examination questions within specific time limits.

The small number who rejected class tests and 'mock' exams gave the following reasons for rejection:

Such tests/'exams' "upset" them.

They were unlikely to get the same questions on a Leaving Certificate paper which they worked on in class tests or 'mock' exams.

Teachers gave unrealistically low marks on class tests and 'mock' exams.

Some typical student comments were:

> "Tests and 'mocks' give you a change to see how to answer a Leaving Certificate question. Also, if you are going to make a mistake, it is far better to make it during the 'mocks' than during the real thing".

> "Tests and 'mocks' give you some idea of how you are getting along. If you do badly, it gives you more reason to study harder".

> "Yes, I do think they (i.e. class tests and 'mock' exams) help. They give you an idea what the real exam is like. You get familiar with the layout of Leaving papers".

> "I do not like tests and 'mocks', but they help me to organise the information that I have learned (sic) and find out how much more I need to learn. Sometimes when I have thought I knew it all, I found I didn't when I came to write it down during a test".

> "I don't like tests and 'mocks' because they upset me and build up pressure and tension".

Many students showed their ability to differentiate between their cognitive and affective approaches to class tests/'mock' exams. These students recorded that they did not like or enjoy such tests/exams but that they appreciated their value as preparation for Leaving Certificate.

III. Discussion and Conclusions

Students in this sample were concerned with teachers' perceived interest/lack of interest in them as individual people, and seemed to consider that this element was an important factor in their preparation for Leaving Certificate. They did not consider that such interest was a substitute for effective teaching but an important element of teaching successfully. Yet less than one-quarter of this population considered that students' welfare is a primary focus of teacher concern. Dale (1974) reported that a major complaint by some students in his large samples was "the impersonality of pupil-teacher relationships in some schools" and he concluded that this factor was so important to students that it was "vital for schools to meet this need for individual recognition". While there can be little doubt that most teachers get personal satisfaction, and probably reassurance, from "good" Leaving Certificate results, other motives attributed by the students were quite inaccurate. No material or status benefits are received by teachers because of "good" results nor need they fear demotion or reduced income if their students' examination results are poor. It may be that a better public relations job could be done by teachers and that improved communication of teacher-motives and teacher-objectives might benefit student-teacher relationships to their mutual advantage.

> "We who teach have to see that not only do we care but that it is clear to the pupil, that we care". (Hamblin, 1974).

Results discussed here suggest that we should also communicate why we care.

Students perceived teachers as ineffective in reducing examination anxiety. Confidence in a teacher did not reduce their anxiety even in that teacher's subject. Further investigation in this area would seem interesting. One could speculate that the Leaving Certificate students are anxious about the imminence of evaluation, the effectiveness of their preparatory study, their capacity to cope with examination papers and that these concerns are quite separate from perceptions of teacher competence. It is possible that a wish not "to let down" a respected teacher could increase anxiety. It is also worth considering that while these findings indicate that confidence in a teacher does not reduce student anxiety, lack of confidence in a teacher might still be a factor in escalating anxiety.

Students perceive teachers as agents of pressure. Many public pronouncements in the popular press and in teachers' publications (Astir; The Secondary Teacher) indicate that teachers would respond that the Leaving Certificate curriculum and the Leaving Certificate examination exert the pressures and that they are powerless to counteract these. While accepting the validity of the need for curricular and examination reforms (Heywood et al, 1981), I would urge that it is also important to recognise the interdependence of the curricular and pastoral elements in secondary education. Attribution of causality is crucial to reactive behaviour (Heider, 1958) and few of us would doubt that adolescents tend towards reactive behaviour. The D.E.S. Report (1979) on secondary education in England provides strong evidence that curricular and examination reforms were less than effective in improving the quality of education in secondary schools. This has veen particularly true in the lower socio-economic groups (Rutter and Madge, 1976). Rutter et al (1979) provide hard data attesting to the differential effects of different school environments. The pastoral element of teaching has been bedevilled in Ireland - as in Britain and the U.S. - with wishy-washy concepts of hand-holding and the easy dishing out of dollops of sentiment. Hence, it is probably important to stress that real pastoral care of students envisages specific programmes and structures for the teaching of specific skills, the skills of time-management (Hopson and Scally, 1979), study-skills and examination techniques (Hamblin, 1981), the art of thinking (DeBono, 1970) as well as the social skills of communication and self-presentation. The P.A.C.E. programme seems to be a first step in recognition of the teaching of these skills as valid educational objectives.

Students value class-tests and 'mock' examinations. The findings here that 88 per cent of the total population recorded their opinion that class-tests and 'mock' examinations were useful to them in the context of preparation for Leaving Certificate may be interesting to those teachers and parents who express doubts about their value. The reasons I have heard for such reservations are that such tests can discourage students, that poor results in these tests erode student confidence and that valuable teaching time is wasted. In this sample at least it would seem that the consumers' perceptions are favourable. Student perceptions seem congruent with Bloom's (1976) findings that constructive feedback and corrective intervention greatly assist the learning process.

Raven (1974) isolated similarities and divergences in pupils' perceptions and teachers' estimates of pupils' perceptions in the junior cycle of post-primary schools in Ireland. Greatest divergence emerged in the areas of school work and public examinations.

> "Teachers in fact underestimate the proportions of their pupils who will think their subjects are useful and they underestimate the proportion of their pupils who will say it is 'very important' to them to get through examinations; whereas 72 per cent of

> pupils said that it was very important to them to get a good examination result the teachers estimated the percentage of pupils who would say this at 58 per cent. ... It may be that the reason why they underestimate these proportions is that they project their own feelings onto their pupils"

and again:

> "Teachers underestimate the serious mindedness of their pupils: they overestimate their interest in pop music, dancing and starting work as soon as possible, and they underestimate their concern to have a job they like doing, to be able to apply what they have learned at school, their concern with their families, and their concern to get a good examination result"

There were indications that Raven's findings on the priorities and concerns of students in the junior cycle of post-primary schools were valid for the senior cycle students in this study. These Leaving Certificate students suggested strongly that teachers are perceived as significant others in preparation for Leaving Certificate in a far wider context than as purveyors of knowledge. Students indicated that their perceptions of teachers' attitudes were salient affects for them. Relevant data on teachers' perceptions had not been collected. In the course of analysis this omission was regretted. It opened up the question: are teachers perhaps more significant to their pupils' achievement and examination success than they themselves appreciate?

REFERENCES

Bloom, B.S. (1976). Human Characteristics and School Learning. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Dale, R.R. (1974). Mixed or Single-Sex School? London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

DeBono, E. (1973). CORT Thinking. Oxford: Pergamon Press.

D.E.S. (1979). Aspects of Secondary Education in England. London: H.M.S.O.

Hamblin, D.H. (1974). The Teacher and Counselling. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Hamblin, D.H. (1981). Teaching Study Skills. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Heider, F. (1958). The Psychology of Interpersonal Relations. New York: Wiley.

Heywood, J., McGuinness, S., Murphy, D.E. (1981). Final Report of the Public Examinations Evaluation Project. Dublin: School of Education, University of Dublin.

Hopson and Scally, (1979). Lifeskills Teaching Programmes. Leeds: Lifeskills Associates.

Martin, J. (1964). 'Acquiescence - Measurement and Theory', British Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology, V.3.

O'Shea, M. (1980). A Study of Students' Attitudes to Public Examinations in Irish Secondary Schools. Unpublished M.Ed., Dissertation: University College of Swansea.

The P.A.C.E. Programme (1980). A pilot project in personal/career development for students in second-level schools. Department of Education, Dublin: Psychological Service.

Raven, J. (1974). Teachers' and pupils' perceptions of the objectives of education and of examinations. In The I.C.E. Report, (Appendix J). Dublin: Stationery Office.

Rutter, M., and Madge, N. (1976). Cycles of Disadvantage. London: Heinemann.

Rutter,M., Maugham,B., Mortimore,P., Ouston,J., with Smith,A., (1979), Fifteen Thousand Hours. London:Open Books.

Irish Educational Studies, Vol.3, No.2, 1983.

SOME ASPECTS OF THE PSYCHOLOGY OF MEMORY APPLIED TO THE USE OF THE OVERHEAD PROJECTOR IN THE CLASSROOM

Francis Douglas

This paper sets out to examine the possible implications of some selected psychological theories for the use of the overhead projector in the classroom. The theories selected are of necessity few in number; however, it is hoped to show that there is something to be gained from their application. Consideration is given to the implications of the research concerning theories of Short Term Memory, Long Term Memory and the Gestalt Laws of Perception.

The overhead projector is one of the most useful teaching aids in the classroom. It focusses the pupils' attention and can therefore be employed to stress important points and facilitate retention of material. It is, however, important that the teacher uses it properly and that he understands the importance of proper presentation of material - an overcrowded acetate sheet for example will only confuse, not enlighten. It is my intention to show that an understanding of the basic workings of memory will greatly benefit the teacher, particularly in his use of the overhead projector.

Although not all psychologists agree that different memory stores exist, for the purposes of teaching it is useful to assume that memory can be divided into two types - Short Term Memory (S.T.M.) and Long Term Memory (L.T.M.).

One of the earliest psychologists, William James[1] said, ". . . as a rule sensations outlast for some little time the objective stimulus which occasioned them".

This he called Primary Memory. In other words, if you look at something and then close your eyes you will see the image of the thing you have been looking at fading away. If a stimulus lasts for a sufficient length of time it produces a more durable image which may pass out of consciousness but which can be recalled to it later. James termed this Memory Proper or Secondary Memory.

Further research carried out since James' time would tend to indicate, at least to some psychologists, that primary memory consists of two distinct types of memory. The first is known as Sensory Information Storage[2] otherwise known as the Iconic Store or Sperling Store; it lasts for a few tenths of a second and unless focussed on by attention, just decays and fades away. The second is known as Short Term Memory and lasts from a few tenths of a second for as long as a process called 'rehearsal' continues. Rehearsal is in fact saying something in your mind over and over again.

Short Term Memory has a limited capacity. G.A. Miller[3] came up with his famous 'The Magical Number 7 ± 2' in which he showed that the capacity of S.T.M. ranges between five and nine according to the type of item.

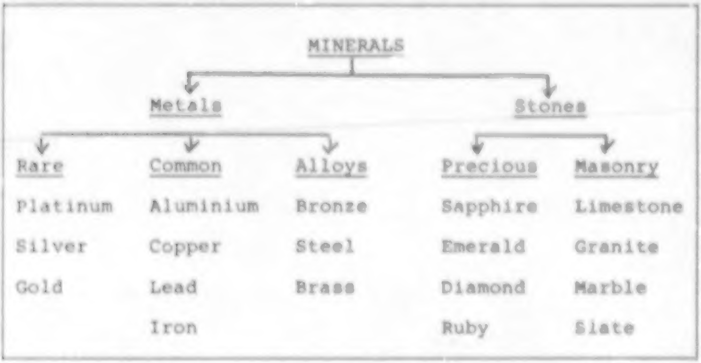
Miller's findings have been confirmed by many other experiments. As an example which will be useful in teaching and in using the overhead projector, we will take some findings from Hunter[4] for University students (these would very much represent upper limits for Secondary School children).

Type of item	Capacity of S.T.M. (on average)
Digits	8.5 items
Consonants	7.5 items
Different coloured cards	7.5 items
Common names	6.0 items
Simple geometrical figures	6.0 items
Pairs of common words	3.0 items
Nonsense syllables	3.0 items
Short simple sentences	3.0 items

As regards Long Term Memory it would certainly seem from the number of trials required before an item is learned that the process of L.T.M. storage is somewhat complicated. A number of points arise when looking at L.T.M. Firstly it does not seem likely that we look at information in the order which it arrives - we almost certainly try and impose our own structure on it before storage. What we think is important will depend upon our previous learning and experience as well as our level of conceptual development. According to Sternberg,[5] there is no need for us to store information verbatim, although this would seem to be the case with S.T.M. Usually in L.T.M. we can extract what we think is important and discard the rest. The research evidence[6] showing that L.T.M. organises incoming information is now considerable.

The job of the teacher is to present information in such a way that it can be stored and recalled easily. To do this he must be aware of the importance of the meaningfulness of his information to his pupils - can they understand what he is getting at, do they know anything about the subject already, will they be able to retain what he tells them? Various techniques can be employed to facilitate learning.

To start with all material needs to be structured if the pupils are to acquire it efficiently. It needs to be structured hierarchically in such a way that there are ideally no more than five bits of information in each level of the hierarchy. Notice that the acetate sheet below taken from Bower et al,[6] is arranged hierarchically in four levels. Notice also that there are not more than five words at any one level. Such organisation of material promotes learning and remembering in a way that mixing up all the information would not.


MINERALS
Metals
Stones
Rare
Common
Alloys
Precious
Masonry
Platinum
Silver
Gold
Aluminium
Copper
Lead
Iron
Bronze
Steel
Brass
Sapphire
Emerald
Diamond
Ruby
Limestone
Granite
Marble
Slate

Past experience and knowledge of the subject should be taken into account. For example, suppose we were presented with the following Greek word on the overhead projection screen:

κλοιλιος

Those who do not know Greek will only be able to look at each letter in turn and try to remember each of them. The eight letters above will, according to Miller and Hunter, be at or near the limit of an adult's S.T.M. However, by rehearsing these letters most adults who do not know Greek could keep them alive in S.T.M. provided that they were not interrupted. The point to note is that the maximum amount this adult can take in at one go is one short Greek word.

If, on the other hand, a person knows Greek he, using a process of rehearsal, will be able to take in seven or eight unrelated Greek words at one go. If the words are related to each other in meaningful sentences such a person might be able to take in three short Greek sentences at a go. These sentences might contain 150 or more Greek letters.

When words are grouped together as meaningful sentences it is possible to remember more than seven or so words at a go because groups of words form chunks in our perception (likewise with individual letters making up words). For example, an acetate sheet with

ALL THE WORLD'S A STAGE

THEY HAVE THEIR EXITS AND THEIR ENTRANCES

has thirteen words on it but forms two cohesive chunks in perception. So, although Miller's Magical Number 7 ± 2[3] needs to be treated as a limiting factor on what we perceive at any one time, it is chunks of information which are the limiting factor, not the individual items.

This process of 'chunking' can be further expanded. If the words already have associations for a person they will trigger further words. If one's upbringing featured nursery rhymes, the three words 'Jack and Jill' may trigger the rest of the first verse:

Jack and Jill went up the hill
To fetch a pail of water.
Jack fell down and broke his crown
And Jill came tumbling after.

Notice that present recall depends on past experience. An overhead projection sheet with 'Jack and Jill' on it will elicit only the associations the perceiver has acquired in the past. However, in our example above these words have called forth 22 further words by association. The same thing happens in the teaching of all subjects and is an illustration of the current preoccupation with 'coding'.[7]

It is also important that the teacher uses appropriate illustrations and therefore maximises the number of mental associations his pupils will have with the subject in hand. For example, a picture of a house will have many more associations for an Irish child than a picture of a mud hut. Obviously this may not be true in other countries. A picture of a house is therefore a 'meaningful' image for an Irish teacher to use on the projector. Such a teacher has to draw up a list of these 'meaningful' images, making sure that they are pertinent to his particular subject area.

The teacher has at his disposal various aids to memory or techniques which he can employ in getting his message across effectively. Once he has assured himself that his material is well-structured and meaningful he can turn his attention to the problem of ease of retention of that material.

When people are told something or shown something they tend to remember certain bits of it and forget the rest. A process of levelling, sharpening, normalising and restructuring tends to take place and this process is known as the 'Law of Pragnanz'.[8]

How can the teacher ensure that the pupils zoom in on the particular things he wishes them to? Firstly he should keep the message simple and reduce the competing stimuli to a minimum. Secondly he should use the laws stemming from the Law of Pragnanz as compiled by the Gestalt psychologists Koffka, Wertheimer, Kohler, Wulf, etc., viz.

(i) similarity;

(ii) closure;

(iii) common movement favouring grouping;

(iv) and others not included here.[8]

The Gestalt psychologists' Law of Similarity is based on the fact that similar objects tend to form groups in perception. For example anyone who has studied bookkeeping for a time will tend to see such things as Land and Buildings, Machinery and Plant, Motor Vehicles, etc., as being similar in that they are Fixed Assets. Debtors would not be similar as debtors are obviously a current asset. Therefore if I write the following list on the overhead:

Stock
Motor Vehicles
Creditors
Profit
Debtors
Bank overdraft
Machinery and plant
Cash
Land and buildings
Capital

to the trained accountant the list will tend to divide up into four groups or patterns as follows:

CAPITAL	FIXED ASSETS
Capital	Land and buildings
Profit	Machinery and plant
	Motor vehicles

LIABILITIES	CURRENT ASSETS
Creditors	Stock
Bank overdraft	Debtors
	Cash.

Notice that this list would not have been divided up in this way without past knowledge or experience declaring which items were similar. Only by the teacher or the textbook constantly affirming that in the context of the balance sheet these items go together does one come to recognise these particular similarities. Look at the list again. One could say that debtors and creditors are similar and therefore stand out from the list and so on. Similar items are determined by the context in which they are found. This has to be borne in mind by the teacher when using the law of similarity in the construction of visual aids.

The law of similarity also invokes a further psychological principle - that of reinforcement, already mentioned in connection with S.T.M. This is illustrated if I draw an acetate sheet with the following on it:

THE COMMON FACTOR BETWEEN

A CIRCLE

AN ELLIPSE

A HYPERBOLA

AND A PARABOLA

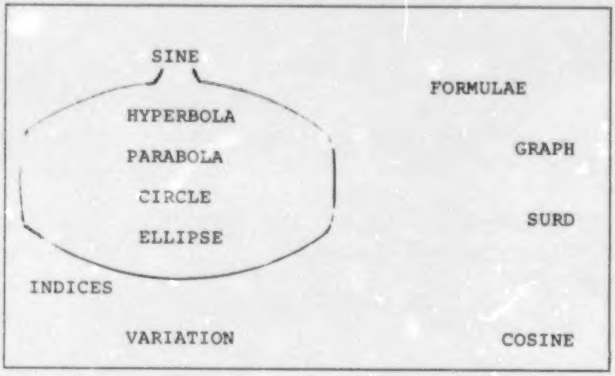
IS A CONE

CONE

CONE.

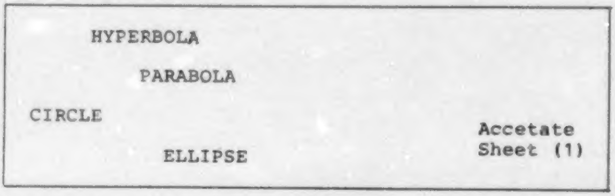
It would seem from the research that three repetitions is the optimum for any one word.

Closed areas more readily form units and are therefore more easily remembered - this is the gist of the Law of Closure. The layout of the acetate sheet below provides an example of the application of this law:


SINE
FORMULAE
HYPERBOLA
PARABOLA
GRAPH
CIRCLE
SURD
ELLIPSE
INDICES
VARIATION
COSINE

Notice that closure in the above is incomplete complete closure being where a complete ring is drawn round the material which you wish the audience to concentrate on. Incomplete closure is better since it sets up a tension within us.

An example of common movement favouring grouping would be where acetate sheet (1) was superimposed over acetate sheet (2). If acetate sheet (1) is now moved around, the four words will stand out from the rest, which they did not do before, and will therefore tend to be remembered.


HYPERBOLA
PARABOLA
CIRCLE
ELLIPSE
Accetate
Sheet (1)

SINE
TANGENT
COSINE
FACTORS
GRAPH
SUBTRACTION

INDICES
FORMULAE
SURD
VARIATION

Acetate
Sheet (2)

This procedure can be used when the teacher particulary wishes a point to be remembered by the class, although as with all techniques overuse will destroy much of the effect.

In addition, the importance of rehearsal, mental images, verbal mediators and pattern notes must be borne in mind when making up acetate sheets.

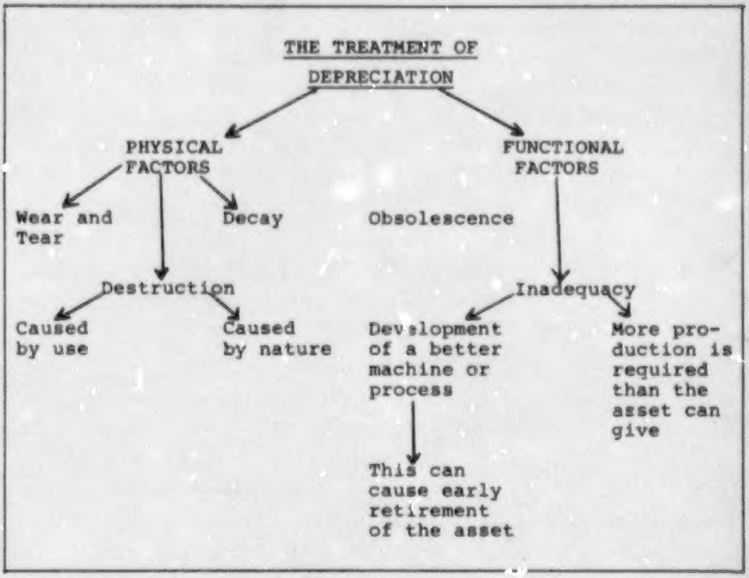
Almost anything can be committed to L.T.M. by using rehearsal. As a general teaching strategy it is a good idea to repeat subject matter over and over again in different ways, aiming to achieve a two-fold purpose. Firstly the teacher must find a method which will allow every member of the class to understand what he/she is teaching (some methods suit some pupils and other methods others) and secondly, by such rehearsal help the pupils to remember. Material on the overhead projector can form part of this strategy.

Where items to be learned can be imagined easily, images are often used by subjects even though their use has not been suggested by the experimenter. The value of imagery when learning material is illustrated by an experiment by Bower.[9] He told one group of subjects (the experimental group) to form mental images linking together the stimulus and response words of lists of paired associates, e.g., sea - boat. The subjects were shown five lists of twenty pairs of concrete nouns and were allowed five seconds to learn each pair. A control group was told merely to learn the lists. The results showed that subjects instructed to form images recalled 50 per cent more of the pairs than did the control group. If images help pupils remember then the teacher can help the pupil form these images himself in large numbers. It is likely that when the teacher shows something on the overhead projector he is presenting the pupil with an image. If the teacher's work is clear, logical and easy to read the pupil will be aided in acquiring an appropriate mental set for the particular aspect of the subject - if it is not, he won't.

What we have spoken of so far is concerned with 'passive' images - the teacher has made no direct move to arouse a particular image in the children's minds. This can, of course, be done and, provided that it is not overused, it can prove very helpful. For example, cartoons shown on the overhead projector can often be used to create a very powerful image in the mind of the viewer and can at the same time incorporate several important points concerning the subject being taught.

An alternative strategy to forming images and using them directly is to incorporate these images into the formation of sentences, stories or merely a word or phrase which links together the items to be learned. This type of activity produces what is known as verbal mediators. These can be used, as can mnemonics, in a limited way on the overhead projector.

Pattern notes have been shown to improve retention of material. They work because they allow the learner to impose his own organisation on the material to be learned and thus form his own Gestalt or pattern out of it. The teacher can use the overhead projector to show how this can be done - an example of a pattern note would be:


THE TREATMENT OF DEPRECIATION
PHYSICAL FACTORS
FUNCTIONAL FACTORS
Wear and Tear
Decay
Obsolescence
Destruction
Inadequacy
Caused by use
Caused by nature
Development of a better machine or process
More production is required than the asset can give
This can cause early retirement of the asset

Buzan[10] suggests that pattern notes often need to be supplemented or backed up with ordinary notes. However, used properly, the pupil can construct a good set of pattern notes which, at a glance, will call to mind the main points he is trying to learn and thereby trigger off a sequence of thought covering the whole area in question.

In conclusion, the use of the overhead projector must be governed by a few basic rules. Material must be structured, preferably hierarchically, and bearing in mind Miller's Magical Number 7 ± 2. Previous learning should be taken advantage of and appropriate images used to make the material meaningful to the audience. Acetate sheets should be uncluttered, the data on them being presented clearly and concisely. Long lists should be broken down into groups, certain important points should be reinforced by repetition or by making them stand out from the rest of the information by enclosing them. Pupils can be presented with key images either in the form of individual words, phrases or sentences which will trigger off further information in their minds. They can be shown how to construct their own pattern notes which will play a vital role in effective study technique. Once the teacher has mastered the skill of using the overhead projector both he and his pupils will reap the benefits.

REFERENCES

1. James, W. *The Principles of Psychology, Vol.1*. (New York: Holt, 1890).

2. Sperling, G. "The Information Available in Brief, Visual Presentations", *Psychological Monographs* *74* whole no. 498, 1960.

   Note: Iconic Memory Storage was first discovered in a series of experiments by Sperling (1960) above. Neisser (1967) gives an excellent account of this subject matter. More recent work has been done by Turvey and Kravatz (1970).
   Neisser, V. *Cognitive Psychology*. (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1967).
   Turvey, M.T., and Kravatz, S. "Retrieval from Iconic Memory with Shape as the Selection Criterion", *Perception and Psychophysics*, 8, pp. 171-172, 1070.

3. Miller, G.A. "The Magical Number Seven, plus or minus Two: some Limits of our Capacity for Processing Information", *Psychological Review*, 63, pp.81-97, 1956.

4. Hunter, I.M.L. *Memory*. (Harmondsworth: Penquin, 1964).

5. Sternberg, S. "High-Speed Scanning in Human Memory", *Science* 153, pp.652-654, 1966.

6. Bousfield, W.A. "The Occurrence of Clustering in Recall of randomly arranged Associates", *Journal of General Psychology, 49*, pp. 229-240, 1953.

   Mandler, G. 'Organisation and Memory', in K.W.Spence and J.T. Spence (eds.) *The Psychology of Learning and Motivation*, Vol.1. (New York: Academic Press, 1967), pp.327-372.
   Bower, G.H., Clark, M.C., Lesgold, A.M., and Winzenz, D. "Hierarchical Retrieval Schemes in Recall of Categorised Word Lists", *Journal of Verbal Learning and Verbal Behaviour, 8*, pp. 323-343, 1969.
   Turving, E. "Subjective Organisation in free Recall of 'unrelated' words". *Psychological Review*, 69, pp.344-354, 1962.

7. Baddeley, A.D. *The Psychology of Memory*. (New York: Basic Books, 1976).

8. See: Child, D. *Psychology and the Teacher*, (3rd Ed.). (New York: Holt Rinehart and Winston, 1981).

9. Bower, G.H. 'Mental Imagery and Associate Learning' in L.W. Cregg (ed.). Cognition in Learning and Memory. (New York: Wiley, 1972), pp.51-88.

10. Buzan, T. Use your Head, B.B.C. 1974.

Irish Educational Studies, Vol.3, No.2, 1983.

RESIDENTIAL SCHOOLING AND THE EDUCATION OF CHILDREN WITH IMPAIRED HEARING

Patrick McDonnell

Introduction

In Ireland children with impaired hearing are likely to spend the greater part of their childhood and adolescence attending special schools. For substantial numbers of these children this is schooling on a residential basis. Out of a current special school population of over 800 pupils, more than half are boarders.

Residential special schools are unlike other boarding schools in several important respects. Firstly, children are admitted at an exceptionally early age - often before their fifth birthday. Secondly, attendance at the special school extends over the pupil's whole school life. Thirdly, the degree of voluntariness attached to special schooling is relatively reduced. Fourthly, special schools are characterised by educational objectives not found in ordinary schools.

In this paper, I would like to look at residential special schooling for children with impaired hearing under three main headings:

1. An outline of the general characteristics of residential special schools.
2. Language development in a residential school context.
3. Pupils' views on residential schooling.

Fundamental changes are taking place in the education of children with impaired hearing. In conclusion, therefore, I would like to examine the implications of these changes for residential special schools.

General characteristics of residential special schools

Erving Goffman observed that there is a fundamental difference between an organisation devoted to the pursuit of war or the making of money and one which has as its purpose the task of caring for persons who are in some cases dependent and are taken into residence.[1] These latter institutions have two basic features. They have an encompassing or total character which tends to isolate the residents from the wider world. The work of such an institution has uniquely to do with people. Among his total institutions, Goffman included residential schools.

Residential schools for children with impaired hearing adhere closely in several respects to Goffman's model. There is firstly, a breakdown of the social arrangements customary in everyday life in that all aspects of the day's activities are conducted in the same place and under the same authority. In the residential school the children sleep, eat, work and play in the immediate company of groups of others.[2] Secondly, all phases of daily life are tightly scheduled and various enforced activities are brought together under a single rational plan ostensibly in pursuit of official aims of the school.[3] Thirdly, there often exists a degree of supervision that amounts to surveillance.[4] As Moss puts it, the essential quality of residential care is "its potential for full-time control".[5] A fourth characteristic of the residential school is the basic division between a managed group of children and a relatively smaller supervisory staff.[6]

In an organisational sense, residential institutions, including special schools, tend towards inertia and inflexibility.[7] One reason for this is the high financial cost of change or replacement. In addition, long established and influential patterns of management and administration give rise to sectional interests, resistent to change. These patterns are further reinforced by intricate networks of tradition, values and sentiment.[8]

Although possessing many general characteristics in common, residential schools vary substantially from one kind to another. Moss identifies two main and contrasting types of residential institutions which exist for the upbringing and schooling of children deprived of the common pattern of home and school life.[9] In one group he places approved schools, borstals, special schools and hospitals which provide by and large for children who are severely deprived or impaired either socially or personally. In contrast, there are boarding schools which might be described as privileged. Children from working class homes are over-represented in the former; children in the latter come predominantly from professional or managerial backgrounds. There is also a marked contrast in terms of performance and outcome between the two populations. Children who pass through provision for the deprived or impaired tend to show very low levels of school attainment. Children from the other type of boarding school achieve high levels of academic success and are abundantly represented in further education and in the professions.

In common with boarding schools, residential special schools can be seen as repositories of certain skills and expertise as well as material and physical resources not readily available to the family. Only in the milieu of the school, it is argued, can the child acquire these attitudes and aptitudes believed to be important for her/his development.[10] The influences exerted by both types of school extend well outside the schools themselves. There is, however, a significant difference in the direction and possible consequences which these influences assume in relation to the home. In the case of the boarding school the influence extends from the home towards the school in that the school is intended to implement certain ends believed by the home to be desirable.[11] In the case of residential schools for children with impaired hearing, the influence travels in the opposite direction in that the school attempts to guide and direct behaviour in the home towards ends believed by the school to be desirable.[12] This constitutes a source of potential conflict since very young children are usually involved and the directives of the school may infringe on what are ordinarily areas of parental responsibility, questions of child rearing and upbringing.

Furthermore, the particular conclusions of experts may run counter to the intuitive understanding of parents. The 1972 report on the education of children with impaired hearing stresses: "The role of the family . . . in the pre-school training of hearing impaired children is a formidable one. The average parent who has no previous experience of hearing impairment cannot undertake this training effectively without encouragement, support and guidance."[13] If, however, the advice of the experts is questioned or rejected, parents may be designated as inadequate, unaccepting or even disturbed. This is all the more dangerous as the parents are likely to feel vulnerable and at a disadvantage. Harper remarks that what is written on the role of parents in the child's life is often presented "in the form of instruction rather than information" and adds that it is not unknown for experts to resort to obstructive tactics when their intimations conflict with the views of parents.[14]

Parential anxiety, too, is likely to be very acute in situations where extremely young and vulnerable children are placed in a residential school. For parents the school may be a relatively unknown and threatening quantity. Neither are parents likely to get much assistance if they turn to the books seeking objective information on the residential aspects of special schooling.

Research in this area is relatively sparse and the findings of such studies as have been conducted must be interpreted with extreme caution.[15] Attempted assessments of personality and feeling imply some assumptions about what good adjustment is and whether it can be accurately measured. Because of communication and linguistic difficulties, the particularly hazardous nature of measuring the social and emotional adjustment of individuals with impaired hearing has to be emphasised. Finally, where there is evidence of maladjustment it is not always possible to say whether it is a consequence of hearing loss or whether it can be attributed to residential experiences.

With these reservations in mind, it is however, useful to outline the general findings that have been reported in research. In their investigation, Quigley and Frisina found no significant differences between residential pupils and day pupils in terms of psycho-educational development.[16] They concluded that "institutionalisation" did not have any apparent adverse effects on the pupils in their study and suggest three reasons why this might be so. The children are not admitted to residential schools until after the age of five. They were encouraged to return home at regular intervals. Finally, the child with impaired hearing may feel less isolated emotionally and intellectually in a community of hearing impaired people. Two further studies seem to reinforce this last point. Fisher and Farrugia and Austin reported that hearing impaired pupils attending ordinary schools were experiencing some degree of emotional stress.[17] On the other hand, Rodda, in his general study of the British school leaver, found no evidence to show that any one type of school was better at preventing maladjustment in the kind of pupil for which it catered.[18]

However, several studies have indicated that residential living has negative effects on social development and on speech intelligibility.[19] These two factors are probably associated with the restricted opportunities of residential pupils to function in the wider world outside the school. It is this aspect of residential schooling which I would like to examine next.

Residential schooling and the development of language

Children acquire the language of their environment with remarkable ease and rapidity, even in the face of dramatic handicaps.[20] In addition even very young children develop an awareness of different acts of language and that different linguistic forms are appropriately used in different situations.[21] In most countries school-going age normally coincides with the time in children's lives when they have mastered the grammatical forms of their language.[22]

Among the very few exceptions to these general rules are children with profoundly or severely impaired hearing. In the case of these children a conscious and formal strategy is employed in enabling them to acquire or develop a language. The implementation of this strategy has been identified as the central task in their schooling.[23] Unlike the hearing child or the deaf child of parents who use sign language, the majority of children with profound hearing impairment are unlikely to have mastered the grammatical forms of any language, oral or sign, before they enter school. The primary goal of educational programmes in special schools is therefore the establishment of an easy and fluent system of communication which in turn will provide the foundation upon which the secondary language systems of reading and writing can be developed.[24]

Despite the fact that individuals with impaired hearing display the same range of intellectual abilities as their hearing counterparts,[25] numerous British, American and European studies agree that they perform less well in tasks that involve a standard linguistic component.[26] The overall picture of the hearing impaired pupil's achievement in school is one of very limited performance in oral communication and low levels of attainment in reading and writing. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that such findings have given rise to heated debate particularly with regard to teaching methods currently employed in the schools.[27]

In Ireland the majority of pupils with impaired hearing are placed in schools where oral methods of communication* predominate and where the declared primary object is to facilitate the acquisition and development of oral language in the pupils.[28] On teacher training courses oral communication techniques are the only ones taught at length. The question then arises as to how a strictly oral methodology can remain tenable in view of the failure of so many pupils to acquire adequate linguistic skills.

Many oralists hold that the system which they advocate ". . . has not as yet had a fair chance to succeed".[29] It has been argued that there are ". . . few schools in which oral communication inside and outside of the classroom is consistently maintained."[30] There is a shortage of teachers with special training as well as a high turnover of teachers with special qualifications.[31] Early diagnosis and assessment of hearing loss is neither universal nor efficient.[32] Equipment is often outdated and servicing arrangements leave much to be desired.[33] Morris, however, points out that extremely low standards have existed in special schools for decades and that relative improvements in equipment, training of personnel, parent guidance and assessment procedures do not appear to have altered the situation.[34] In this debate one area of crucial significance has been more or less ignored - the influence exerted on language usage by the environment of the special school, in particular by the environment of the residential special school.

---

*Oral communication implies communication between the hearing and the hearing impaired and among the hearing impaired themselves by means of speech and speechreading supplemented by amplified sound.

Special schooling on a residential basis involves gathering into one place large numbers of children who have not mastered an auditory-vocal channel of communication. In these circumstances, children will have to resort to other than vocal channels of communication in order to understand and be understood. Well-documented evidence suggests that this is exactly what they do.[35] The urge to communicate obliges hearing impaired children, often in the face of adult disapproval and hostility, to construct gestural linguistic systems or to surreptitiously acquire a sign language from peers.[36] The existence of non-vocal linguistic systems has been observed even in programmes which formally pursue strictly oral methods.[37] It has been suggested that these systems are generally highly organised and rule governed to a point where they must be considered as functioning in a symbolic way for the users.[38]

Several areas of conflict arise out of this situation. Firstly, there is a serious divergence between the official communicating system of the school and the private system of the pupils. Secondly, divergent language usage implies divergent sets of norms and values which underlie all communitative interaction.[39] Pupils, for example, may be able to use oral language in certain situations, but they may choose not to;[40] speech may not be appropriate in the situation as perceived and categorised by the pupils. Thirdly, pupils' identities and self-esteem may be invested in a gesture or a sign system which they use in their interactions with those who share their difficulties.[41] Indeed, pupils of all ages in special schools for the hearing impaired tend to use sign language as the preferred channel of communication in their private conversations.[42] Finally, the negative impact on the development of communicative competence must be considerable if one method of communication is enforced and the other ignored or actually suppressed.

It must be emphasised that the point here is not that oral communication is impossible for children with impaired hearing. It is that if the objective of special schooling is the development of oral language only, then there are important aspects of the special school setting that are likely to make this exercise a frustrating or self-defeating one for both pupils and school authorities. Alternatively, if special schooling is to be preserved then it seems logical to argue that the legitimacy on a wider scale of some form of sign language must be recognised.

The issue of linguistic environment is of relatively greater significance in the case of residential pupils who spend most of their time in the special school setting. The final section of this paper is devoted to a closer examination of institutional experiences among residential pupils, from the pupils' point of view.

Residential schooling - the pupils' view

The effects of residential institutions on individuals has been a major concern of research among children who are deprived of the common pattern of home and school life. However, as I have pointed out already, relatively few studies appear to be concerned with the residential aspects of special schools catering for children with impaired hearing. A reason for this may be the fact that residential schooling has long been the accepted norm for the majority of children.

One recent study set out to obtain a pupil perspective on key areas of experience in a special school for children with impaired hearing.[43] Sixty residential and day pupils from the post-primary section of a school were interviewed and one major concern of the research was to investigate several aspects of experience that were likely to impinge in a special way upon the out-of-school lives of boarders. These were:

1. Routine
2. Block treatment
3. Privacy
4. Social distancing.

In this paper it is possible only to outline the main findings of this research.

With regard to routine, the residential lives of pupils were characterised by a considerable degree of regimentation. The pupils, however, did not always consider this to be especially oppressive. Attitudes depended on the nature of the activity being pursued: regulations were liked if they were associated with valued objectives. Rules governing study period, for example, were well-liked, probably because of the association with passing examinations, an objective highly regarded by the pupils.

Of course, not all routine activities were considered to be gainful. Rules governing recreation were disliked where, perhaps, greater freedom of choice was desired. High levels of discontent were expressed about the regulations governing meals and bedtimes and the consequences of being unable to comply with these were perceived to be significantly unpleasant.

Finally, there was a marked neutral or non-committal response to several enforced activities. Pupils either did not experience institutional control as oppressive in these areas or they were resigned to it. Neutral attitudes may have their origin in a realistic acquiscence to residential life: restrictions are perceived and experienced but the individual feels powerless to alter the situation and tries to make the best of it.

Block treatment is a key factor of residential life and it typically involves subordination of individual needs to the exigencies of the group schedule. The difference between the lives of day pupils and the lives of residential pupils was nowhere as sharply evident as in the individual's influence over the choice and preparation of food. At home the family can cater for the individual palate; in the institution the collective taste dominates. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that the adaptations which residential pupils had to make in this regard were the source of exceptionally high levels of resentment.

Concerning residential pupils, the 1972 report on the education of children with impaired hearing emphasised the need "to reproduce as far as possible the conditions of the good home".[44] Almost ten years later more than two-thirds of the residential pupils interviewed, reported being placed in dormitory type accommodation (more than six beds to a room).[45]

Block treatment involves supervision to ensure that organisation and movement of individuals comply with institutional regulations. Residential pupils experienced an extensive degree of supervision and, by implication, a very circumscribed degree of personal privacy. Supervision was a particularly pervasive feature of the experience of younger pupils. The vast majority of these pupils believed it was against school regulations for pupils to be alone.

The issue of supervision has particular connotations in special schools for children with impaired hearing. In order to ensure that only approved modes of communication are used by pupils, school authorities sometimes enforce what must be regarded as continuous surveillance. In such situations, pupils may have neither social nor personal privacy.

Another implication of supervision is the basic split that follows between those who supervise and those who are expected to comply. Social mobility between the two groups is severely restricted. An important factor here is the manner in which social distance is prescribed and maintained.

There were considerable limitations to the movements of residential pupils within the school. Locked doors were a common feature of their everyday lives. Social distance was maintained by the absence of participating adults at meal times. During leisure periods, on the other hand, adults were perceived to be present in a supervisory capacity; supervisors joined in games and helped with homework but they also "watched for trouble". Structural and administrative characteristics of the school, therefore, served to sustain the basic divide between staff and pupils.

To sum up, then, not all aspects of residential life in the special school were equally disagreeable, not did pupils react identically when the adaptations they were required to make were the same. For some pupils residential special schooling was perceived to be gainful insofar as it facilitated the attainment of desired educational objectives and the establishment of contact and friendship among children who might otherwise feel geographically or socially isolated. This is not, of course, an argument for residential schooling. Rather it reveals how conditions, which in ordinary circumstances might be deemed oppressive, are not in fact felt as such. And a further point must be made: public awareness of the problems and difficulties consequent upon loss of hearing may leave the child with no alternative but to seek companionship in the special school.

Finally, the conditions perceived by pupils in the study I have been quoting, were considerably removed from the home-like environment recommended in the report, "The Education of Children who are Handicapped by Impaired Hearing". In almost every instance the daily out-of-school lives of boarders diverged substantially from those of day pupils. Thus, while children have to adjust to the institutional features of the residential school environment with or without disaffection, procedures characterised by routine, regimentation and supervision are hardly adequate ". . . to prepare them to develop their abilities to the highest possible level, to help them to live as independent members of the community and to offer them stimulus and opportunity for cultural enrichment of their lives."[46]

Conclusion

Many countries have seen a marked shift away from residential schooling.[47] In Britain the movement towards mainstreaming has been most noticeable among children with impaired hearing.[48] In the mid-1960s residential schools in the U.S. lost their former status as the major enroller of students to various forms of day programmes.[49] The characteristics of the residential school population have also changed. Firstly, there is now a trend for younger pupils to be enrolled in day programmes and for increasing numbers of day programme students to switch to residential schools for adolescence, probably because of the greater resources there for vocational and academic post-primary curricula.[50] Secondly, the more severe the hearing impairment the more likely is the pupil to be placed in a residential school.[51] More and more children with partially or post-lingually impaired hearing are being accommodated in ordinary schools. Thirdly, because of the greater survival rate of hearing impaired children at birth and during infancy, special schools will be concerned with larger numbers of pupils with additional disabilities.[52]

There is no doubt that in Ireland too, the patterns of special schooling are changing. The 1972 report advocated the expansion of the two largest residential schools and had grave doubts about the benefits of establishing schools in provincial centres.[53] Since then, however, two provincial schools (in Cork and Limerick) have been established and there is a strong possibility that others will follow. At post-primary level, special facilities for hearing impaired pupils have been incorporated into the Bishopstown Community School in Cork. It is also likely that similar models will be required in other parts of the country.

Ideally, one would argue, children with impaired hearing are best educated alongside their hearing peers. Nevertheless, the poor school experience of so many children with neither physical nor mental disabilities suggests that successful placement of children with impaired hearing in ordinary schools will depend upon careful planning and the provision of adequate resources and satisfactory support services. While criticism of the assumptions and practices of special schooling has been implicit in this paper, I am not claiming that residential special schools have no place in an overall school system. I am arguing that residential facilities must be improved and communication methods reassessed to cater for the current and future needs of pupils.

REFERENCES

1. Erving Goffman, *Asylums: Essays on the Social Situation of Mental Patients and Other Inmates*. (Harmondsworth: Pelican Books, 1968).

2. *The Education of Children who are Handicapped by Impaired Hearing*. Report of a committee appointed by the Minister for Education. (Dublin: Stationery Office, 1972, 6.38).

3. Ibid., 7.19.

4. Ibid., 7.31.

5. Peter Moss, "Residential care of children: a general view", in J. Tizard, T. Sinclair and R.V.G. Clarke, eds *Varieties of Residential Experience*. (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1975), pp.17-51, p. 21.

6. *The Education of Children*, 9.21 (i).

7. Moss, *Residential care*, p. 43.

8. Ibid., pp.43-4; *The Education of Children*, 7.22.

9. Moss, *Residential care*, p. 17.

10. *The Education of Children*, chapter 6.

11. Frank Musgrove, *Patterns of Power and Authority in English Education*. (London: Methuen, 1971), p. 23.

12. *The Education of Children*, 4.3; 4.18.

13. Ibid., 4.5.

14. Janet R. Harper, "Parential Rejection", *Talk*, No.62, (Winter 1971-72), pp.12-3, p. 13.

15. Levine, Edna S., "Studies in psychological evaluation of the deaf", *The Volta Review*, 65 (November 1963), pp. 496-512,p.508.

15. Stephen P. Quigley and D.R. Frisina, *Institutionalisation and psycho-educational development of deaf children*, Council for Exceptional Children Research Monograph, Urbana, Illinois, 1961.

17. B. Fisher, "The social and emotional adjustment of children with impaired hearing attending ordinary classes", British Journal of Educational Psychology, 36 (November 1966), pp.319-22, D. Farrugia and G. Austin, "A study of the socio-emotional adjustment patterns of hearing impaired students in different educational settings", American Annals of the Deaf, 125, 1980, pp. 535-541.

18. Michael Rodda, The Hearing Impaired School Leaver, (London: University of London Press, 1970).

19. A. Evans, "Experiential deprivation: Unresolved factor in the impoverished socialisation of deaf school children in residence", American Annals of the Deaf, 120, 1975, pp.543-552; Helmer R. Myklebust, The Psychology of Deafness, (New York: Grune and Stratton, 1964); Stephen P. Quigley and Robert E. Kretschmer, The Education of Deaf Children, (London: Edward Arnold, 1982), chap. 3.

20. E.H. Lenneberg, "A biological perspective of language", in R.C. Oldfield and J.C. Marshall, Language, (Harmondsworth: Penquin Books, 1968), pp.32-47, p. 33.

21. David Crystal, Child language learning and linguitics. (London: Edward Arnold, 1976), pp.54-5.

22. David McNeill, The Acquisition of Language. (London: Harper and Row, 1970), p.84.

23. The Education of Children, chap. 6.

24. Stephen P. Quigley and Robert E. Kretschmer, The Education of Deaf Children. (London: Edward Arnold, 1982), p. 10.

25. McKay Vernon, "Fifty years of research on the intelligence of the deaf and hard of hearing: a survey of the literature and discussion of implications", Journal of the Rehabilitation of the Deaf, 1, 1968, pp. 1-11.

26. T. Morris, "Some observations on the part played by oral teaching methods in perpetuating low standards of language achievement in severely and profoundly deaf pupils", The Teachers of the Deaf, 2, July, 1978, pp.130-5. provides a useful survey of the recent investigations into reading levels.

27. *Methods of Communication Currently Used in the Education of Deaf Children*, Royal National Institute for the Deaf, 105, Gower St., London, 1976.

28. *The Education of Children*, Chapter 6.

29. J.K. Reeves, "The whole personality approach to oralism in the education of the deaf", in *Methods of Communication*, pp.9-17, p. 15.

30. J.E.J. John and J.N. Howarth, "An argument for oral communication". *The Teacher of the Deaf*, 71, March 1973), pp. 102-3, p.105.

31. Reeves, "The whole personality approach", p. 15.

32. Ibid.

33. Ibid.

34. Morris, "Some observations", p. 131.

35. A.V. Cicourel and R.J. Boese, "Sign language acquisition and the teaching of deaf children", American Annals of the Deaf, 117, 1972, pp.27-33, 403-11; R.E. Kretschmer and L.W. Kretschmer, *Language Development and Intervention in the Hearing Impaired*. (Baltimore: University Park Press, 1978),; D. Moores, "Non-vocal systems of verbal behaviour" in R.L. Schiefelbusch and L.L. Lloyd, eds. *Language Perspectives: Acquistion, Retardation and Intervention*. (London: Macmillan, 1974), pp.377-417; B. Tervoort,"Esoteric symbolism in the communicative behaviour of young children", *American Annals of the Deaf*, 106, 1961, pp.436-80.

36. Cicourel and Boese, "Sign Language", p.408; Moores, "non vocal systems"; Tervoort, "Esoteric symbolism".

37. Ibid.

38. Kretschmer and Kretschmer, *Language Development*, p.89.

39. W. Labov, *Sociolinguistic Patterns*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1972).

40. H.L. Owrid, "Education and communication", The *Volta Review*, 74, (April 1972, pp.225-34, p.233.

41. D. Moores, K.K. Weiss and M.W. Goodwin, *Evaluation of Programs for Hearing Impaired Children: Report of 1973-74*. Research, Development and Demonstration Center in Education of Handicapped Children, Research Report 81, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis.

42. B. Tervoort and A. Verbeck, *Analysis of Communicative Structure Patterns in Deaf Children*. Groningen, The Netherlands: V.R.A. Project Ro-467-64-65, 1967, quoted in Moores, "Non-vocal systems", p.393.

43. McDonnell, Patrick, "Experiences of Special Schooling among Pupils with Impaired Hearing", Unpublished M.Ed. Thesis, University College, Dublin, 1980.

44. *The Education of Children*, 6.37.

45. McDonnell, "Experiences of Special Schooling", p. 241.

46. *The Education of Children*, 6.1.

47. UNESCO, *Case Studies in Special Education*, 1974.

48. W.A. Lyons, "The hearing impaired child in the ordinary school", *The Teacher of the Deaf*, 4, (March 1980), pp.49-57, p.49.

49. Quigley and Kretschmer, *The Education of Deaf Children*, chapter 3.

50. Ibid., p. 43.

51. Ibid.

52. McCay Vernon, *Multiply handicapped deaf children: medical, educational and psychological considerations, Council for Exceptional Children Research Monograph*, Washington, 1969. Abstract quoted in R. Dinnage, *The Handicapped Child: Research Review, vol.II*. (London: Longman, 1972), pp. 192-7.

53, *The Education of Children*, 7.22 - 7.37.

Irish Educational Studies, Vol.3, No.2,1983.

'OPEN CURRICULA' FOR AN 'OPEN SOCIETY'

Jim Callan

INTRODUCTION

The Socio-Economic Context: The Old-Order is Breaking

A central thesis in my paper is that schooling as we know it needs a radical re-orientation, a radical restructuring both in its organisational structures and in its understanding of what constitutes educational programmes. There is nothing sacred about the way we currently perceive schools. They, like other social institutions are products of a particular historical period and like other social institutions require significant changes with changing circumstances. To-day young people live in a highly sophisticated technological culture; they live in a society that it becoming more open-minded and in which relative value systems are becoming more apparent and accepted. Irish Society is becoming more democratic.

To plan for the future is a difficult and audacious task. While we can see what is happening, we cannot say where we are going or want to go. What we see happening at the moment is the exhaustion of eighteenth and nineteenth century's notions by which we have lived, worked, related to one another, believed. There is a withdrawal of beliefs and practices from the established order - as is evidenced, for example, in recent surveys on religious beliefs and practices in our country; people are coming to insist that their new sense of importance of their own experiences and of the reality of their relationships to one another, to society and to the earth, be reflected in the way society works.

With the present unemployment situation we are witnessing, not just a passing phase due to an economic recession. A significant factor in rising unemployment is the emergence of new technological modes of production. Over 54,000 young people (i.e. under 25 years) are unemployed (January figure). What can be offered to them is not at all clear. It would seem that while there is a need to stem the tide of unemployment by way of making present industries more efficient and by developing in young people the kinds of skills needed in potential growth industrial sectors, in addition, however, some more radical alterations need to be found which imply a different conception of 'work' and 'wealth distribution', i.e. that economic problems will not be solved by economic means alone.

An essential task for to-day's generation is to look critically at some of the underlying values and assumptions in our society, our organisations and ourselves to find a new sense of direction, a new social consensus and a new basis for organising and managing our institutions. In our case this clearly implies educational institutions.

OPEN CURRICULA

In a democratic society in which open-mindedness and relativity of values are the hallmark, where diversity of student interests, backgrounds, motivation are evident; where opportunities for working and creating must be sought out and not expected to be passed on, educational institutions must become more open in their form of organisation and in the diversity of programmes on offer.

Accordingly I use the term open curricula to imply a number of events which I believe should emerge in our thinking about and implementing educational programmes.

In the first place I use the term curriculum to refer more to the activity of experiencing rather than the content of experience. This is an important distinction and is crucial when considering what I am proposing.

By 'open' I imply a number of things:

1. Open in the sense of broadening our understanding of knowledge and accordingly what we understand by the concept educational programmes (as distinct from other kinds of programmes).
2. Following from 1, that educational programmes be more diverse in character, i.e. that they help different pupils develop different competencies. This requires that a variety of courses be designed to ensure that each pupil is able to develop his unique potential. This is my understanding of equality of educational opportunity. Learning is individual and unless it meets a pupil's need, desire, curiosity or fantasy nothing is learned effectively. Unless there is a reaching 'from within', learning cannot become 'second-nature'.
3. That conative and affective aspects of our personal make-up be given more educational worth/ recognition.
4. That teaching-learning situations be conducted in an 'open' democratic environment and that teachers perceive their role as encompasing researching skills both in relation to how they handle knowledge and how they come to develop learning strategies.

In addressing these issues I am conscious of such factors as teachers' expectations, schools' values, parental expectations, trends in industrial development and ideological shifts. It is not intended to present a blueprint for future education programmes - curriculum planning in action is a much more complicated task than simply drawing up means to a clearly identified end. They are, rather 'directions' as to where I believe, we ought to focus our attention.

Towards a Broader Concept of Educational Programmes

A more open view of what reasoning is, is required. In our education system reason is regarded as the ability of the human mind to grasp, manipulate and seek out necessary connections between ideas. In this sense, reason is scientific abstraction dealing with either formal symbols created by the mind or empirical data viz., the only cognitively meaningful statements are one which are either true by definition - i.e. analytically true - or empirically verifiable. The general, the universal, the abstract and the public facts of the exterior world have come to dominate educational processes in our schools. They have been concerned primarily with intellectual operations the goal of which is knowledge of true propositions or facts. Its assumption:

> "to be rational was to be able to recognise truths and the connection between them" - Gilbert Ryle.[1]

However, as Gilbert Ryle has shown, what constitutes intelligent practice is not necessarily an intellectual operation. "Intelligent practice is not a step-child of theory". What schools should be more centrally concerned with is the development of intelligent living which may or may not be intellectually (i.e. propositional theory) oriented.

Thus, for example, one can help young people to respond intelligently and creatively to social issues which confront them. Social education can be as demanding in terms of requiring intelligent responses as traditional scholarship. There is nothing sacrosanct about the place of traditional subjects on a curriculum: they simply represent one mode of developing one's understanding about the world around them. It is not necessarily the best mode; increasingly, it is becoming an irrelevant mode for curriculum design; because of their incompleteness as a map of human culture and their strongly intellectualistic character.

In ordinary life to-day, and it would seem moreso in the future - considering present trends in our value system and present employment patterns, people are more concerned with their own competencies than with their cognitive repertoires, with procedures than with the truths they learn. These competencies such as the ability to learn on one's own, independence, being inventive, a sense of responsibility, are legitimate and desirable educational (and not only methodological) goals), which in my view should receive primary focus in very different learning contexts than we currently practice. The school's role will have to change. Instead of being primarily purveyors of knowledge they should concentrate on helping pupils develop competencies. The emphasis in the learning would be on procedures i.e. the kinds of learning situations constructed, the kinds of learning experiences the students are exposed to. It means the development, for example, of various problem identification processes, problem-solving processes; placing an emphasis on the teaching of interesting puzzle forms which are useful for converting troubles into problems.

What clearly is needed is a sense of how to construct these kinds of learning situations, for example, how to convert chaotic situations into manageable problems. The education system, accordingly, needs to become much more open to on-going action-research programmes or innovative research programmes. Action research programmes or innovative research programmes should address themselves to helping teachers obtain a clearer understanding of the nature of such competencies as initiative, self-reliance and of problem-solving process. Certain questions need to be answered:

> Are academically weak students unlikely to be good at anything or do they possess other talents which schools could help them develop?
>
> What is the range of competencies teachers should have in mind when considering how they can help pupils develop to their full potential?
>
> What kind of learning situations need to be provided for developing these competencies?

The curriculum innovation work that has been occurring in the two curriculum centres in Shannon and Dublin in the area of alternative learning procedures should be further encouraged and developed. Such programmes as Community Based Learning, Miniature Student Companies and Youth Enterprises Shannon provide students with opportunities for developing a wide range of competencies and outside school experiences. In the context of national industrial development, for which educational establishments have some responsibility, such programmes are very desirable. The recent Telesis Report (commissioned by the National Social and Economic Council), the reports from the N.B.S.T. scheme of linking universities with developing industries, Research from the Irish Management Institute, all identify the need for the development of indigenous Irish owned industries which require not only research and development skills but also skills in marketing, selling, etc.. In evaluation-research work in which I was engaged, I spoke with a number of employers who have usually employed young people at 15 years. They indicate that due to increased technological means of production and the rising cost per unit of production, the opportunities for young people have become fewer. Also in recession, employers tend to prefer older applicants. What is changing, then, is the concept of vocational education and academic education or general education. We will need to prepare individuals not for the performance of routine activities that can be done with great skill and precision by devices. Manual skills requirements are replaced by researching/developing skills. The skills of recourcefulness, creativeness, self-reliance are at a premium for living and working today. Themes, issues, topics, whether on social, economic, political, religious institutions, can be addressed within a critical perspective. Teachers in schools should leave the realm of neutrality and objectivity: in a situation where old habits are dying, we cannot afford the luxury of passive, uncommitted and increasingly irrelevant institutions in which young people are not being challenged to develop their potential on social, economic or moral issues which affect them. Schools have a social role to play, which to-day means: re-structuring, re-creating a culture.

Work situations and modes of economic operations could be examined as could the value systems and norms of conduct, i.e. patterns of social meaning ought to be critically and creatively explored. Social and political institutions, social and political policy, likewise. The emphasis should be on processes of enquiry, analysis, pupil participation in practical/creative activities in a spirit of reflective action. Let pupils develop competencies in tasks which they perceive to be significant. Projects in conservation, urban renewal, community radio, local newsletters, community theatres, these present opportunities for young people to develop a number of competencies.

This is not an exercise in subversive activity aimed at endangering the security of the State but rather in mobilising personal skills and knowledge in the interest of conviction that change is imperative. It is to believe, moreover, that the educational tasks which schools take responsibility for in our communities, promote value-inquiry rather than imprinting values. In this students can experience a sense of freedom which is the only way towards authentic citizenship; verbal moralising philosophising does not have the same educational effect.

What I am saying involves a vast change in our thinking about the role of the school in society, our understanding of knowledge and the development of intelligence. At the moment, our schools are not only intellectually oriented, but their representation of subject knowledge is dubious and even invalid. As Bernstein has noted:

> "For the many socialization into
> knowledge is socialization into
> order, the existing order, into
> the experience that the world's
> educational knowledge is
> impermeable." 2

But if in teaching science or history or any subject, the emphasis was on developing students capacities to find out truths for themselves and their ability to organise and explore them when discovered, such procedures could afford opportunities to students of "learning ways of dealing with givens, connecting things, processing unrelated things.." (Bruner).[3]

Pro-Active/Creative Living

With the development of student competencies on tasks which have a social significance, or even in a more discipline-based approach in subject teaching, students will have a more creative approach to living and responding to their environment. The young person will not be in awe of or feel submerged in the presence of encyclopaedic knowledge. Knowledge is something that one does something with - to oneself, to others, to society. Moreover it affords the students an opportunity to appreciate that knowledge is a human achievement developed by people who were grounded in experience as the student is. Educational processes have an opportunity to embody a powerful and coherent vision of man and students as meaning makers (by being inventive, expressive, presistent).

Education and Personal Identity

A challenge to educational policy-makers and administrators and others is to ensure that as society becomes more geared to technological requirements, it is essential that it (i.e. society) does not become alienated internally or emotionally flat. Becoming technically efficient does not necessarily imply that we become dead personally.

There is cause for some concern, however, that this may be happening. For example it is evident that computer analogies are invading psychology and philosophy: the human mind is 'data processing', knowledge and emotions are 'programmed'. More disturbing, however, are the ill-effects which unemployment has on those who have been cast into this category. Their sense of human dignity suffers when they have been placed outside the realm in which values and meanings are assigned: they are exiled from full-humanity. The forthcoming European Values Study Report shows, for example, that the unemployed group in Ireland "will increasingly develop a strong collective consciousness generally hostile to the more settled elements in society". (Other reports show the ill-effects of unemployment; sickness, suicides..).

Other examples of man's inhumanity to man can be seen in the escalating spiral of 'weapons technology' where man's 'technical reason' works away at creating nuclear monsters which threaten all life; he also works away at creating pills for the prevention of anxiety and for the replacement of what an earlier age called hope.

Bearing these things in mind, I am reminded of what Gerald Vann, O.P. wrote about the challenge to education:

> "...in these days we have to struggle consciously to learn what other ages learnt unconsciously: the deep lessons of nature... that the first thing is to receive and accept, to lay open the mind and heart to reality and let it flood in and take possession."

What I interpret this to imply is that educational (learning) experiences be also concerned with the particular, the concrete, the idiosyncratic, the experiential, the personal. In the absence of such personal and experiential learning process students while perhaps having knowledge have no wisdom, ideas but no feelings, techniques but poor in convictions. The educational world in its scramble for the examination marks, the degrees, diplomas, has meant that the evaluative system has placed an emphasis on attaining states of knowledge rather than ways of knowing or experiencing. This is not the road to a deep and vivid culture. Accordingly, the arts in whatever form - literary, visual, the art of cooking, the art of love (eros, philia, agape) the art of movement: dance, drama, mime, - must be taken out of the context of an intellectual pursuit and be pursued more in a context which is personally, and spiritually relevant to our young people. Such developments will necessitate the development of a sense of standards, i.e. the development of different means/modes of assessing students' growth and achievement. The emergence and development of these standards can take place in the context of teacher development action-research programmes.

Observers to classrooms - researchers and guests - have identified, for example, a certain hostility on the part of students towards poetry. This is explained, in part, by the fact that poetry is being forced on them as something that it isolated from their own lives, their own experiences. Students are not encouraged to use these elements in their own appreciation of poetry. Consequently, poetry is treated as something alien. If pop-songs -"the folk memories in the making - were harnessed: the emotions, feelings, etc., which they express - they could provide a strong educational force in the classroom. Modes of individual expression and creativity can be greatly released in a context which students can relate to and are motivated to respond to. Teachers will have to accept the personal, idiosyncratic character of artistic expression: they provide a useful framework for the education of emotions, feelings and also for stimulating wonder, mystery and developing a sense of the intrinsic significance of being. Words in poetry invite us, not to 'think about' and judge but to 'feel into' or 'become' - to realise a complex experience in words. Coupled with a more personal and experiential focus in the arts I would like to see other alternative educational programmes being explored to facilitate the conative and affective dimension in our personal development. Possible features of such an educational programme are focused on by Sam Keen[5] and some of them are referred to below:

1. should not our educational establishments provide students with time to develop inner silence, to cultivate the ability to let things happen. Meditation exercises, whethor of Eastern or Western tradition could provide some ideas on techniques and content.

2. our classrooms focus on teaching minds and not bodies. I believe that experiences and understandings designed to generate understandings of the integration between body, mind and the world should be encouraged. We need to sensitise ourselves to our bodily existence - exercises such as awareness through movement, i.e. psychophysical exercises which can facilitate the body/mind relationship. Respect for bodily existence - man is a being-in-the-world, not an idea or notional existence is an important educational perspective. It may well be, for example, that a democratic society can only survive in a sensitive milieu (the body politic: personal and public).

   > "The new demands are not for sex but love, not for new tyrants but for participatory democracy, not for a greater share of the wealth but for a more caring society." 6

   Ensuring that the unemployed, for example, are not condemned to an impoverished environment will require a more caring and sensitive society. Economic policies alone cannot ensure this.

3. respect and care for the earth: man's natural habitat is the focus of concern for many so-called dissident groups around the globe to-day. How we are polluting our natural resources reflects a philosophy of existence in which we have become technological adventurers conquering a hostile environment. There is a need to cultivate attitudes such as wondering, contemplating towards modest objects - natural or fabricated. Plato, for example, insisted that love had a ladder of ascent whose lowest rung was a simple object.

4. Respect for simple objects can facilitate respect for other persons. While no technique can produce friendship certain therapeutic techniques can remove barriers which prevent intimacy. Role-playing and psychodrama can encourage empathy and compassion.

5. The management and resolution of conflict, i.e. developing alternative ways of dealing with anger, conflict and competition - the ability to enter into "loving combat" (Jasper). Some new techniques are being developed that allow students to participate as decision-makers in simulated international and national crises. These can assist in students appreciating different perspectives.

   Treating of these conative/affective dimensions is giving recognition that it is persons who are educated for maximum vividness of life. Each person must find in the educational process something beyond the penmanship and grammer of his culture that gives him a name, a place, a commitment.

Teacher Pupil Relationships: In an 'Open' Environment

Power is a problem for all of us. We live in a society which is very conscious of a hierarchic order - whether in political life or in the life of the Church. The development of an open democratic style of relationships presents us with the problem of abandoning the authoritarian use of power and of providing workable alternatives.

Schools, no less than other social and political and administrative institutions, need to explore the provisions of alternative styles of relationships betweeen teachers and pupils. In how many of our schools can students question teachers' decisions? Is not a central function of teaching in schools controlling the pupils or keeping them in control? Is this the best preparation for democratic decision-making?

An open environment, as articulated and practised by Kohl (The Open Classroom), is one in which the teacher gives up his/her power, learns to listen to pupils, to be led by their interests and needs, and learns from the experience of pupils.

It is difficult for such a pedadogy to be practised in a society in which hierarchical structures dominate. But as I mentioned at the outset of this paper, increasingly there is a move among people to question existing hierarchic institutions and to demand a more participative style of leadership (results from religious survey support this observation). As Bruner has pointed out:

> "... the educator who formulates pedagogical theory without regard to the political, economic and social setting of an educational process courts triviality and merits being ignored in the community and in the classroom." 7

While Bruner was speaking in the context of new innovations, I use his quotation to suggest that the danger he refers to applies equally to outdated pedagogical practice. Relationships between teachers and pupils must move with the spirit of emerging democratic aspirations. Schools should assist this process by way of negotiating with students on what to learn and how to learn.

Innovative Research: The Paradigm for Educational Development.

Dr. Margaret Mead once wrote:

> "... those students who have devoted themselves to studying cultures as wholes ... can make the following contribution ... implement plans for altering our present culture by recognising the importance of including the Social Scientist within his experimental material and by recognising that working toward defined ends we commit ourselves to the manipulation of persons and therefore to the negation of democracy. Only by working in terms of values which are limited to defining a direction is it possible for us to use scientific methods in the control of the process without the negation of the moral autonomy of the human spirit." [8]

To those in political life and social scientists these recommendations will be strange since they tend to see human affairs patterned upon purpose, means and ends. What she suggests is that we look for the direction, and 'values' implicit in the means, rather than looking ahead to a blueprinted goal, i.e. to find the value of a planned act implicit in and simultaneous with the act itself, not separate from it in the sense that the act would derive its value from reference to a future goal.

What I have outlined here are directions - the complexity really arises at attempts to develop educational processes within the ideological frame implicit in what I have suggested. Attempts to realize these aspirations requires not an intellectual acknowledgement of the rightness or otherwise of them but a public (political) commitment to action. It has not been the purpose of this paper to examine or analyse strategies for innovations. I believe this issue deserves some public discussion. As is implied in Dr. Mead's statement change in social life is dependent on people's values;

the means used to bring change about requires the innovator to respect and to work with those values. In that sense planning curriculum change is a matter of planning with teachers, parents, employers more than for them. It is not a blueprint exercise.

More specifically, this will cast the teacher in the role of an innovative researcher. The model for curriculum innovation which I regard as most meaningful is one in which it places the teacher in the situation of systematically analysing events in class; engages in more hypothesis-making and prediction, in order to generate more understanding about particular teaching situations. Innovative Research of this kind is premised on the belief that teachers can do good research if they have the support of people with time to give and expertise to share. (University Departments of Education have a crucial role to play in this regard both in terms of teacher development and teacher education for student-teachers.) This is a developmental style of innovation premised on the belief that we cannot 'produce' solutions or blueprints to complex educational problems. We can only aim to embark on a line of policy development which will give promise of systematic and thoughtful improvement.

Educational policy-makers, educationalists, teachers and parents will need to appreciate the fact that the criteria of curriculum developers is not in pursuing a 'right' or 'good' curriculum. But, rather it is engaging in a series of activities on curriculum as policy, which activities are attempting to give intelligent and penetrating insights into its adequacy as educational policy in practice.

CONCLUSION

The challenge is clear - innovative research needs to become more of a reality in our system; it will keep the mind of the teacher open; it will facilitate more openness between ideas within and outside the school. Education for the future is still in the womb. It's up to all of us to ensure it is not 'still-born'. That would be the death of us.

REFERENCES

1. Gilbert Ryle, The Concept of Mind. (London: Hutchinson and Company, 1969).

2. Basil Bernstein, "On the Classification and Framing of Educational Knowledge" in Knowledge and Control ed. by Michael D. Young. (London: Collier-Macmillan, 1971), pp.47-69, p.57.

3. Jerome Bruner, "The Relevance of Skill or the Skill of Relevance" in The Relevance of Education. (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1971), pp.108-117, p.109.

4. Gerald Vann, The Water and the Fire. (London: Fontana Books, 1961), p.56.

5. Sam Keen, To a Dancing God. (London: Fontana Books, 1971).

6. Ibid., p. 50.

7. Jerome Bruner, "Culture, Politics and Pedagogy" in The Relevance of Education. pp.98-1o7, p.100.

8. Margaret Mead, "The Comparative Study of Culture and the Purposive Cultivation of Democratic Values" published as Chapter IV of Science, Philosophy and Religion, Second Symposium, copyright 1942 by the conference on Science, Philosophy and Religion, New York and quoted in Gregory Bateson Steps to an Ecology of Mind. (Paladin Granada, 1973), p. 133.

Irish Educational Studies, Vol.3, No.2, 1983.

A PRINCIPAL'S PERSPECTIVE ON THE POST-PRIMARY CURRICULUM

John Harris

First, may I say that it is a great pleasure for me to talk to this delightfully alliterative and plosive title. My pleasure derives, not just from the alliteration but because the theme of this conference reflects what must be one of the great educational concerns of the moment - reform of the post-primary curriculum. There will be those who say that this is not the time to talk of curriculum development when money is scarce and the financial hatches are being battened down. I say that it is because of this situation that change is needed now more than ever before.

There can be no doubt that attention will focus closely on where every penny is spent on education. Questions will be asked about return for money invested. We cannot afford to squander money on providing education which is not relevant, which wastes talent, and which props up a system which thrives on failure for too many of those who experience it. These are the issues which curriculum development is concerned about.

I am asked to give a principal's perspective on the post-primary curriculum. Reason and logic suggest that such a perspective should have a firm theoretical base and that it must derive from a clear understanding of curriculum principles. The reality is that the perspective of most principals is a pragmatic one. The practical possibilities of what will work in a school situation necessarily predominate.

The principal's responsibilities towards the curriculum of his/her school are of crucial significance. It must be admitted, however, tht most principals are fundamentally ill-equipped to exercise their role as curriculum manager. They are often ill-equipped by training, or qualification, or, by experience. Look at the basis on which principals are recruited. How high does knowledge of curriculum feature among the criteria used to select those chosen for the office of principal? This fact is highly relevant to considering the state of curriculum development in Ireland today.

It may be that some have "greatness thrust upon them" but, without doubt, modern day school principals are increasingly having curriculum change thrust upon them - sometimes by members of their staff, often by the dissatisfactions and discontents of their pupils, and their parents; alas, not often enough by the Department of Education.

In his study of the relationship between curricular innovation and organisation structure in post-primary schools John MacMahon concluded:

> The important factors for the occurrence of innovations in schools are not related to teachers' characteristics or to teachers' attitudes. They seem to be related to characteristics of the principal and the way in which the work of the school is organised. [1]

Thus the principal's role in curriculum development is of particular importance.

Thus the principal must have a special concern for curriculum, whereas individual teachers will tend to be more concerned about their particular subjects. The school timetable is an administrative statement of the curriculum; it is also an expression of one's educational philosophy and priorities. It must be remembered, however, that in drawing up a timetable, one is subject to a range of constraints; e.g. the Department rules, availability of personnel and of facilities.

What are the crucial issues which a principal must face in drawing up a curriculum? The overall problem is how to achieve a balanced curriculum for all pupils. This must be determined by reference to some kind of conceptual model by which the essential elements of a balanced curriculum can be identified - or perhaps one should look out for those elements without which a curriculum will be seriously unbalanced. It is possible to approach such questions in a purely philosophical way - in terms of theories of knowledge, for instance - yet this would be to do less than justice to the needs of the pupils for whom that curriculum is designed. It could certainly fail to take account of the diversity of pupils - their range of capacities and interests - the relevance, in their terms, of what is taught.

Thus the question about core curriculum is crucial. How wide a core? How much choice? What options? These are crunch curriculum questions which the principal must face.

We have built too much of our education around failure. For the examination system to work, a certain percentage must fail. We choose to reward some kinds of achievement only and to leave others largely unrecognised. Yet pupils achieve success at different levels and at different things and in different ways. Everyone has strengtns and weaknesses. Are these facts adequately recognised in our systems of national assessment?

We talk of 'equality of opportunity' in education or 'equality of access' to education yet both of these concepts are deficient to a degree. I have always been more attracted to what Daunt called the 'equal value principle' - "that the education of all children is held to be intrinsically of equal value".[2] If we were to take seriously this basically simple principle, we would be forced to bring about a revolution of major proportions in our education system.

There has been much criticism of the lack of aims in our educational system, particularly so in relation to the curriculum. It has been the practice in the past to take aims and objectives for granted. It wasn't the teachers' job to worry about aims . Everyone knew what they were supposed to be about.

In this company, I will not need to enter the fray and discuss the importance of aims, or to labour the point about 'product and process'. I would be starting to head too widely off target as regards my brief. Suffice to say that it is important that a principal should set up, on a regular basis within his school, an exercise which will seek to challenge the assumptions which teachers may make about the rationale of their teaching programmes. If, for instance, the staff of a school are encouraged to spend time in debating and analysing what they can agree to be the purpose which their school is trying to serve and how the school curriculum should be trying to meet the specific needs of the pupils, it will not be long before the curriculum process begins to be set in action. If such a debate is taken seriously, it must necessarily throw up questions about what a school is doing and force the exploration of alternatives.

It will be part of the principal's responsibility, although he will find it at times a difficult task, to ensure that the necessary rigour is observed in the course of this task. There have been unhappy instances recorded of half-baked and ill-conceived curriculum projects floundering through inadequate thought being given at the aims and objectives stage.

What this effectively means is that curriculum development must grow from within the teaching body. The teacher is the primary agent in curriculum development. The trend has recently been away from the large scale project more towards school-based initiatives. As Holt said:

> A school is likely to innovate or become creative or show organisational health if it sees a change process as a normative imperative. Once there is a general consciousness that the status quo should first be questioned and maybe replaced by more coherent proposals then the wheels turn, committees meet, teachers talk and ideas flow ... schools have so much to learn from themselves. 3

This is the kind of situation which has to be managed by the school principal.

I have been long attracted to many of the ideas which emanated from Goldsmith's College Curriculum Laboratory in London. The ideas which came from the groups of teachers which met there during the 1960s and which formulated proposals for Inter-disciplinary Enquiry and a four-fold curriculum, have, I believe, been greatly undervalued. They talked much of collaboration among teachers, of 'collaborative learning', of a focus group of teachers who would meet to focus their attention and to pool their specialist interests and expertise in order to design integrated courses flexible enough to allow pupils of all ability levels to engage in meaningful and satisfying work. Perhaps the time was not right for those ideas when they were first enunciated.

In their report of the first pilot course for experienced teachers at Goldsmith's College, the following words appeared.

> The school is seen by society as a place where children are selected and prepared for the labour market. They are shaped in their formative years, not according

> to their development needs, but so that they can fit into pre-ordained niches, a system in any case, doomed to failure since the shape and number of niches are constantly changing. They are classified and labelled according to their anticipated market value and this essay in astrological prediction continues, despite our knowledge that it attempts the impossible. The pressure of parents, employers and universities constricts the school with a straitjacket of examinations. Yet we have evidence from these same agencies that the products of the schools disappoint. Small wonder when the system has extruded them who, by sex or class, prefer to opt out of this obstacle race and when the criteria for selection give credit to convergent thinking and the willingness to conform to conventional patterns of attainment. 4

Do those words not cry out for a response in terms of developing the curriculum?

The process can begin, then, when teachers start to meet and discuss what their work should be about. The principal's task is to set that process in motion and to structure it, to organise it, to guide it and, where need be, control it.

Having done this, however, they must face the constraints within which they must necessarily work. The principal constraint will be, of course, the examination syrtem. There have been reports issued, studies made, of different modes of examinations. Yet, despite some changes in recent years, we have failed to face up to the fundamental restructing of the system which education requires. It should not be impossible to conceive and devise an examination system which would be supportive of local initiative and which will recognise and reward a range of talents and skills.

Curriculum writers have correctly pointed out that logic demands that one should first devise the curriculum and then determine how to assess pupil performance in that curriculum. This is not, however, what actually happens. Despite the logic one must say that practicality demands that if we are to be able to change the curriculum in any meaningful way, it is necessary first to liberate the examination system. I believe, therefore, that it is necessary at a national level to create a sufficiently flexible structure so that schools will be free to breathe fresh air and to introduce movement into the area of assessment reform.

Not all teachers would be ready to move at the same time or in the same way. Some will be better equipped both in terms of attitude and expertise to break new ground in terms of the curriculum. The structures should be free enough to allow this. Those that do engage in curriculum reform must feel assured that their pupils will have equal opportunity for national certification at the end of the course. The leadership for this kind of change must come centrally. But the main function of that leadership must be to clear the ground so that professional activity can function at the level of the individual school.

Let us now turn to some areas in which I personally would hope to see curriculum development take place.

We have already seen many instances in this country of attempts to establish integrated programmes, often in the areas of humanities or science, occasionally across these or other boundaries. There is scope for more work of this kind. One of the great advantages of integrated programmes is that they allow for opportunities for teachers to come together and to pool their collective talents in collaborative ventures.

The second area is that of technological studies. There has been, I believe, must vague talk about this. There is indeed a need for increased awareness of and knowledge about technological advances. These developments must be reflected in the curriculum. There is, however, some confusion about how these can be best approached. It is partly a matter of syllabus reform within existing disciplines. There may also be a need for new disciplines. It is not just a case for more teaching of subjects such as woodwork and metalwork as we know them. We have been slow in this country to look for the potential for development in the area of the so-called 'practical subjects'. There are possibilities here for integration which have not been tapped. There should be more courses emphasising a range of craft skills, design-based courses, courses which look at technology per se.

Another area greatly in need of reform is the whole area of Mathematics teaching. There are widespread cries of dissatisfaction about existing mathematics courses, that they are too abstract and academic, much to irrelevant to the needs of many young people, yet there is a great reluctance to tackle this problem. Mathematics is surrounded by some kind of aura which seems to render it untouchable.

What about the experience gained to date by those who have engaged in courses in Health Education, in Consumer Education, of Media Education? Many of these have crept in through the back door,as it were. They have featured as part of experimental educational programmes. Yet they have much to offer as part of a core curriculum in the post-primary school. They are all of enormous importance in terms of influences on young people's lives and cannot be ignored by education. Courses in such areas must be recognised too in national systems of certification. Perhaps this is a case where systems of profiling of pupil's performance should supplement traditional modes of examinations.

Home Economics is a subject much in need of change and reform. The syllabuses, as presently laid down, are restrictive. The sewing syllabus, for instance, is such as to greatly discourage boys from taking the subject. Yet there is no reason whatever why boys should not take it both in the junior and senior cycles.

I am particularly concerned that much of the excellent course material which is included in the Scientific and Social Home Economics syllabus for Leaving Certificate should only be available for those who choose this subject as an option at this level. It seems to me that there is a very strong case for including such syllabus material for all.

To bring these changes about would mean a whole new range of approaches to the design of curricula and of assessment procedures. Is this beyond us?

I refer lastly to the importance of evaluation as an essential and integral part of the curriculum process. This Association, whose members engage in educational research, have here an area fallow for activity. As curriculum development has become more school-based, the aspect of evaluation of curriculum change tends to feature less and less prominently. This is for the simple reason that the people involved simply don't know how to do the job. As Holt has pointed out:

> The growth of interest in school-based development gives these questions (curriculum evaluation) a new importance and we can readily see that preordinate styles of evaluation will not, in their classically pure form, be appropriate for adjudicating a process which allows its means to influence its ends. A number of illuminative models have, therefore, been devised which, on the face of it are much better suited to school-based applications. 5

But how many teachers know about such things? and to what extent has research helped to identify skills and techniques which can be used in the school-based situation to evaluate curriculum programmes?

Heywood has said that

> teachers must all have the illuminative attitude so that assessment and evaluation may be an integrating process in the process of education. 6

It is, therefore, one of the major concerns of the principal in the whole area of curriculum development, indeed for the whole area of his job as school manager, to establish processes and procedures for what Shipman called "In School Evaluation". This is a difficult area and for that reason many teachers fight shy of it. Yet, if curriculum development is to function in a way which is not haphazard or which is not to experiment glibly with children's lives in a way which may be detrimental to them, this problem must be tackled as a matter of urgency.

This, therefore, represents some aspects of this principal's perspective on the post-primary curriculum, together with some glimpses of his hopes and dreams for the future. I have held my position in Newpark for ten years now and, in that time, have seen quite a number of changes occur in education. Not least among these has been an awareness of new attitudes, aspirations and expectations and also new problems and pressures on the part of students. I believe the curriculum must change constantly to meet the changing needs of students and, if principals are not in tune with these changes, and if they do not listen to the voice of the young, what hope can we have for the future of Irish Education? A mighty responsibility rests on the principal's shoulders.

REFERENCES

1. MacMahon, John a. "The relationship between curricular innovation and organisation structure in post-primary schools". (M.Ed. dissertation, University of Dublin, 1975), p. 95.

2. Daunt, P.E. *Comprehensive Values*. (London: Heinemann Educational, 1975), p. 16.

3. Holt, Maurice, *Regenerating the Curriculum*. (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1979), p. 55.

4. James, C.M., and Phillips, D.G.D., eds. *The Role of the School in a Changing Society: Report of the First Pilot Course for Experienced Teachers*. (London: Univesity of London, Goldsmiths College, 1965).

5. Holt, Maurice, op. cit., p. 116.

6. Heywood, John. *Assessment in Higher Education*. (London: Wiley, 1977), p. 247.

Irish Educational Studies, Vol.3, No.2, 1983.

REFLECTIONS ON THE RELATION BETWEEN THEORY AND PRACTICE

Hugh Gash

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this paper is to give a brief and rough account of theory of thinking, and then to consider three areas of application. I hope that what I write will elicit questions and critical comments. Those of you who are interested in a fuller account of this theory will find one in Gash (1983). The three areas of application are as follows: an assessment of the status of action in learning; student-teachers "readiness" for philosophy, psychology, and sociology; and posing problems to young children in the easiest possible ways.

THE THEORY

As soon as one sees directed purposeful action one can infer mind. We can gain insight into much of children's learning and behavior by considering it as experimental activity. Experiments are guided by informed guesses, they proceed by means of carefully planned actions, and they produce results which allow assessment of the guesses. In such an account of knowing and knowledge action plays a central role in the construction of new ideas and in the reduction of uncertainty.

The following sections will consider the implications of this theory.

THE STATUS OF ACTION IN LEARNING

In recent years there has been much criticism of some of the work done by Jean Piaget (1970) in the framework of the theory I have outlined. One recurrent criticism is on the emphasis Piaget put on action as necessary to the learning of certain skills. Critics have pointed out that experimental studies have failed to demonstrate that children who learn certain skills by means of action do not perform better on tests of these skills than children who are instructed on these skills. A careful case can probably be built that Piaget overemphasised the role of physical activity in learning new ideas. A problem with the criticisms is that action can be thoughtless, just as instruction may not be understood.

If one is insensitive to the relation between ideas and actions one is likely to be sympathetic to the critics' conclusion that action is not necessary to learning. The basic issue is not new. It is the old familiar one of the relative merits of drumming information into children versus allowing them to build their knowledge.

Children learn quickly that the most efficient way to tackle arithmetic problems is to use a procedure. To the extent that a teacher encourages such habits the children in their turn will learn not to think carefully about the problem. I watched seven year olds doing subtraction recently. If John has 10p, and his bus fare is 7p, how much change will he have? Some children learned that the way to get the answer was to see what to add to 7p to get 10p. When the numbers changed, however, they were stuck. They seemed unable to get a grip on what to subtract from what. The idea of subtraction is intimately connected with certain activities, those of taking away parts from wholes. The operations are crucial to understanding. It was clear to me that these children were confused about subtraction. They were confused precisely because they were trying to follow procedures without understanding them. The way in which anyone tries to solve a problem flows from the ideas one has - the action and the idea are finely connected. In my example the children needed to act on parts and wholes to try to get the feel of what is involved.

STUDENT TEACHERS' IDEAS

In primary and secondary school teaching great care is taken to ensure that the lesson taught is pitched at the correct level. In terms of the theory a child's understanding limits what can be learnt and if the subject matter being studied is too complex children will lose interest. At the third level this is no less true. In philosophy, psychology and sociology there are well established paradigms. Loosely speaking a paradigm is a way of approaching a problem within which certain assumptions and problem solving techniques are taken for granted. Lecturers who have grown accustomed to these assumptions and methods may have difficulty understanding the problems which students face in getting to grips with the paradigms within these disciplines. I think that the argument can be made that the way in which students think about a number of topics in these disciplines deserves study. I will give some examples of ideas which seem difficult to communicate. My suspicion is that these ideas are difficult to teach because non-specialists tend to think about them in other ways.

(1) The description of human behaviour and communication in terms of problem solving seems to pose difficulties. Is this because people generally don't think of behaviour in this way?

(2) Students may well be excused for thinking of knowledge in terms of facts or in Ryle's terms - "knowing that". Exams of the type Irish students are very familiar with depend in large part on factual information. There is a relation between many such facts and that other type of knowing which Ryle called "knowing how". (I am unsure whether Ryle ever considered the intimate relation between these forms of knowing when knowing is considered developmentally.) In mathematics, for example, knowing that 10 per cent of 50 is 5 probably requires that one knows how to calculate the answer. One could be quite precise about the steps which children can take to construct this fact.

I wonder whether you would agree that sensitivity to considering the way in which knowledge is put together may be inhibited by years of schooling in which knowledge was primarily something which one memorized?

MAKING PROBLEMS EASIER FOR CHILDREN

In recent times significant developments have occurred in our understanding of the nature of the child's physical and social experience. Piaget has contributed so much to this literature that until recently it had been difficult to subject much of what was said to the sort of critical assessment necessary to a more complete understanding. One central theme in Margaret Donaldson's (1978) book, Children's Minds, is that Piaget's tasks have sometimes confused children. She documents experiments which show that in a number of areas different ways of putting questions make it easier for children to demonstrate that conceptual competence. I believe that it can be argued that this central theme in Donaldson's book is merely an exploration of horizontal decalogue or what other writers have distinguished as competence versus performance. I use the word merely to imply that what has been demonstrated is not the error of Piaget's theory but rather ways have been demonstrated in which children can be presented various tasks which help the child express her developing competencies. Therefore what seems to have direct practical implications are the clues which Donaldson's book gives as to how to present topics to children in the easiest possible way. I will consider one example.

Understanding children's difficulties with classification of objects is related to pre-number activities with children who have just entered school. One aspect of classification is the ability to understand the relation between part and whole. Traditionally, this has been assessed by showing a child an array of objects such as nine red flowers and three white flowers and asking a few questions. Initial questions are asked to establish that the child can count and understands that there are more red flowers than white flowers. The class inclusion question is about the numerical relation between the red flowers (part of the class of flowers) and the flowers (whole, all flowers). Traditionally it is assessed by asking a question of the following form: Are there more red flowers or are there more flowers here? Typically five and six year olds are confused by this question and answer "more red flowers". Their difficulty seems to be that they cannot easily consider red flowers as part and whole in the same question. It has been argued that children would be helped by a question form which emphasises the whole class, in my example it would be flowers. Donaldson cites a study (Anthony, 1977) using three black cows and one while cow. Questions on class inclusion were asked in two ways, the traditional as just described and a new way, which emphasised that the black cows were to be compared numerically with all the cows. This was done simply by putting the cows lying down and the class inclusion question was "are there more black cows or more sleeping cows?" There is then some truth to the claim that the whole class needs to be emphasised and this information, while not the whole story, is certainly useful to know if one is engaged in prenumber activities with four-year-olds and five-year-olds.

POSTSCRIPT

It is clear that there are other ways in which the theory practice relation can be portrayed. In this paper I have been concerned exclusively with one type of cognitive theory in which the separateness of theory and practice is radically diminished. Generally theory means various disciplines in University and College of Education courses which include psychology, philosophy, sociology and hopefully applied linguistics. It would be my view that many, indeed most, of the sorts of activities in these courses are rather fundamentally related to the ways in which we teach, wherever we teach. However, it was clear at the symposium on theory and practice at this conference that there is a need for more opportunities for contact between practitioners at different levels in our educational system if there is to be a more compatible relationship between those who teach theory courses in third level and those who wish to apply these thories in their classes.

REFERENCES

Anthony, W.S. (1977). Activity in the learning of Piagetian operational thinking. British Journal of Educational Psychology, 47, 18-24.

Donaldson, M. (1978). Children's Minds. Glasgow:Fontana.

Gash, H. (1983). Vico's theory of knowledge and some problems in genetic epistemology. Human Development, 26, 1-10.

Piaget, J. (1970). Science of Education and the Psychology of the Child. New York: Orion Press.

Communications on general editorial matters to:

Dr. James McKernan,
Education Department,
University College,
Dublin 4.

Subscriptions and orders to:

Mr. Frank Douglas,
Education Department,
University College,
Cork.

Cost: £6 (£4 to E.S.A.I. members)

ISSN 0332 – 3315